

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

*Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*



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# CONTAINING MULTITUDES

*Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8 in Perspective*



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Dissertation presented at Uppsala University to be publicly examined in Ihresalen, Engelska parken, Humanistiskt centrum, Thunbergsvägen 3, Uppsala, Saturday, May 16, 2009 at 10:15 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The examination will be conducted in English.

### **Abstract**

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This study employs as its primary source a codex from Uppsala University Library, *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*. Its aim is to contribute to a better understanding of the Late Byzantine and post-Byzantine miscellaneous book. It is argued that multitext books reflect the time and society in which they were created. A thorough investigation of such books sheds light on the interests and concerns of the scribes, owners, and readers of the books. Containing some ninety texts of different character and from different genres, *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8* is a complex creation, but still an example of a type of book that was common during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This study takes a comprehensive view of the book in its entirety, making sense of its different parts in relation to the whole with the help of codicology and textual analysis. With that approach the original idea of the book is brought to the fore, and the texts are studied in the same context that the main scribe Theodoros chose and the early owners and readers of the book encountered.

Through a systematic codicological analysis, the overall structure of the codex is explored and suggestions are made concerning the provenance. The examination of the scribal work procedure becomes a means to profile this otherwise fairly unknown scribe. The texts are grouped and characterized typologically to illustrate connections throughout the whole book as well as in relation to the separate structural units. The role of microtexts and secondary layers of inscription is also considered. From the perspective of usability the texts are divided into four categories: narrative texts, rhetorical texts, philosophical-theological texts, and practical texts. Three texts are studied in greater depth, as examples of the width of the scribe's interests and the variety of the book's contents.

*Keywords:* *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*, Byzantine and post-Byzantine book history, codicology, multitext books, miscellany, composite book, microtext, codicological unit, scribal work procedure

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*Θυγατρί μου Φρεδρίκα Άσπασία*



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# Abbreviations

<i>AASS</i>	<i>Acta sanctorum</i> . Brussels; Antwerp; Paris, 1643– .
AbhBerl	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin
<i>AG</i>	<i>Anthologia Graeca</i> , 2nd ed., ed. H. Beckby, 4 vols. Munich, 1965–68.
<i>AIPHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves</i>
ASAW	Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig
<i>B</i>	<i>Byzantion</i>
<i>BAB</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique</i>
<i>BAGB</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé</i>
<i>BASO</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , 3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin, 3 vols. Brussels, 1957.
<i>BHM</i>	<i>Bulletin of the History of Medicine</i>
<i>BMGS</i>	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
<i>BNJ</i>	<i>Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher</i>
<i>BollClass</i>	<i>Bollettino dei classici</i>
Br.	BRIQUET 1968; see also Bibliography
BT	Bibliotheca Teubneriana
Budé	Collection des Universités de France, l'Association Guillaume Budé
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>CCAG</i>	<i>Catalogus Codicum astrologorum graecorum</i> , ed. F. Cumont et al., 12 vols. Brussels, 1898–1953.
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, Series latina
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae
<i>ChHist</i>	<i>Church History</i>
CMG	Corpus medicorum Graecorum
CNRS	Centre national de la recherche scientifique
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> , ed. M. Geerard & F. Glorie, 5 vols. Turnhout, 1974–87.

<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani</i> , ed. A.M. Ghisalberti. Rome, 1960–.
DenkWien	Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>DSp</i>	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique</i> . Paris, 1932–1997.
<i>EEBS</i>	Ἑπετηρίς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte
<i>GLM</i>	<i>Gazette du Livre Médiéval</i>
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</i>
Ha.	HARLFINGER & HARLFINGER 1974–1980; see also Bibliography
HAW	Handbuch der [Klassischen] Altertumswissenschaft
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>JHB</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Biology</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JÖB</i>	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
<i>JWarb</i>	<i>Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes</i>
Loeb	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , ed. H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones et al. Oxford, 1996.
MiscByzMon	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MT	Museum Tusculanum
<i>Νέος Έλλ.</i>	<i>Νέος Έλληνομνήμων</i>
ÖAW	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>OCP</i>	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i>
<i>ODB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. New York, 1991.
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
Pi.	PICCARD 1961–; see also Bibliography
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. Paris, 1857–66.
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. Paris, 1844–64.
<i>PLP</i>	<i>Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit</i> , ed. E. Trapp et al.

	Vienna, 1976– .
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Stuttgart 1941– .
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>RenQ</i>	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
<i>Repertorium</i>	<i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600</i> , ed. E. Gamillscheg et al. Vienna, 1981– .
<i>RH</i>	<i>Revue historique</i>
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie</i>
<i>RSBN</i>	<i>Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
<i>SAWW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft in Wien, Philos.-Hist. Klasse
<i>SBN</i>	<i>Studi bizantini e neoellenici</i>
<i>SC</i>	Sources chrétiennes
<i>StudMed</i>	<i>Studi Medievali</i>
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
<i>TAPhA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TLG</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae</i> ( <a href="http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu">http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu</a> )
<i>TrGF</i>	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. B. Snell et al. Göttingen, 1971– .
<i>WByzSt</i>	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>





# Preface

In the field of Greek and Byzantine studies working with manuscripts is no revolutionary stance. Rather the opposite. But the radical question is: how do we go about our manuscript study? The normal procedure has been to collect manuscripts containing a specific text, selecting among them the superior witnesses, discarding most of the others as “corrupt,” and cleansing the remainders into a critical edition. Of course, we are all very grateful when we can read a text in a reasonably decent edition. Time is too scarce to have everyone consult the manuscripts, and the facsimiles are as yet too few to make up for the limited access to the real thing. But you are doomed to miss out on a lot of exciting matter in this process. An objection to the quest for the conclusive edition is that one will possibly end up with a fabricated text that was never ever read at the time. If indeed one does arrive at a fairly pristine wording, it is still not the “same” text, since it is cut out of its context and is presented as a singular, monograph text, despite the fact that more often than not the medieval codex happened to hold not only one text, but two, three, ten, or even several dozens of texts.

Let us say you end up with one of these multi-text, rather ordinary-looking medieval codices on your desk. It may not contain the rare pieces of canonized authors. Its readings are of little use in the preparation of a critical edition. Well, you may feel like the archeologist who came to the excavating site a little too late to dig up the golden treasures, the death masque of Atreus, but grubbing around once more you find small but undeniable traces of people’s daily life. It may not be Mycenean civilization, but a medieval farmer’s kitchenware, or even Herr Schliemann’s shaving brush. So, we modify our picture of the past, less heroic, more diversified.

Medieval and postmedieval manuscript books are more than just text carriers. They were the belongings of people who ordered, copied, bought, and read them, who perhaps wanted their children to own and read them in turn. This is why I wish to take the context into account, keeping whatever is possible of the original setting of the texts, trying to see the books as they may have been approached before they became the anonymous objects of library accession lists. Little attention has been paid to these mundane realities by literary critics, despite the fact that they often claim to elucidate a text’s meaning and impact. But the contextual and codicological awareness is gaining ground, and future researchers will hopefully benefit from a more com-

prehensive approach to manuscript books, whether they be monographs or multitext books.

A book is both meaning and the vehicle by which meaning is conveyed; it is the object of various enterprises of production, distribution, and consumption, so that “just what it is under one of these headings necessarily influences what it is under the others.”<sup>1</sup> This is the point of departure for my investigation of *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*, a late fifteenth-century miscellany. My first acquaintance with the manuscript came through a project financed by the Swedish Research Council. One of the main ambitions of the project was to publish the many anonymous and hitherto inedited texts in this extensive manuscript. However, through assiduous work by three students (Dimitrios Iordanoglou, Johan Löfström, and myself) and our supervisor, professor Jan Fredrik Kindstrand, the number of *inedita* shrunk, less because of editing work than by the fact that we were able to identify many of the texts as portions of already known works from Greek and Byzantine literature. What I present here is, thus, an offshoot of this project, but I have chosen a different approach, keeping the whole book in perspective.

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<sup>1</sup> DAVIDSON 1989, 1.

# INTRODUCTION



# 1 Preliminaries: Book History, Codicology, and Philology

*Do I contradict myself?  
Very well then I contradict myself,  
(I am large, I contain multitudes.)*  
Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*

## What can a book tell us? – Scope and aim of the study

The main focus of this study is a late fifteenth-century codex from Uppsala University Library, *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8* (henceforth abbreviated *Gr 8*). The book presents a kaleidoscopic combination of some ninety texts of various character and length, and despite the fact that technically it is made up of several units, the book was almost entirely produced by one and the same scribe. One may thus expect it to reflect a particular individual's reading interests, whether the scribe collected the texts for himself or for a commissioner.

*Gr 8* is a many-sided book in a number of ways: it is post-Byzantine but also *not*—few of the included works are of later origin than the 1450s. The subject matter is Greco-Byzantine, and yet there are tracks leading to Western Europe, for example Leonardo Bruni's text about the constitution of Florence and a couple of others on doctrinal issues debated at the Church Council of Ferrara-Florence 1438–39. In addition, it opens up to cultures east of Byzantium, as in a Greek version of the Persian-Arabic fable story *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and a text on *ramplion*, a form of divination which seems to have spread from Arabic-speaking areas. The book gives us religious and secular texts, advanced and elementary, poetic and practical, in different styles and on different language levels, works from within a chronological span of more than 1500 years. The oldest texts are from Hellenistic times or even earlier, authored by—or attributed to—Aristotle, Isocrates, Hippocrates and Aesop, to take a few examples. Among the latest texts are letters from Cardinal Bessarion (d. 1472); one of them, to Michael Apostoles, is dated

1462.<sup>2</sup> Another late example is a *Monody on the Fall of Constantinople* written by Manuel Christonymos (d. 1482), who during Turkish rule became patriarch of Constantinople.

Is it possible to achieve order in such a farrago? What can it tell us about the book's originator and the cultural setting it sprang from? Is it unique, or is it rather an example (though quite excessive) of a type of book which was common in those days? The aim of my investigation is to find answers to at least some of these questions through a careful examination of the codicological structure of the book as well as the included texts, their placing and context.

The extent and complexity of *Gr 8* (it runs to about 700 pages, or 348 folios) force me to put some limits to the exploration: I present in-depth studies of three hitherto unknown texts, mainly to illustrate how the smaller, apparently unassuming texts in a book may contribute to our understanding of the setting in which the book was created. Other *inedita* are instead assembled in an appendix to allow other researchers access to them. They are provided with a limited apparatus, and textual corrections are gingerly undertaken so as to make the texts slightly more readable, but still facilitate for the readers to get an idea of what they look like in the manuscript.

To place *Gr 8* in a wide-ranging comparative study of Byzantine multitext books is also a task which will have to wait. Research in this field is still in the initial stages, with too few detailed studies from which to create a synthesis. What I do hope to achieve is a useful case study and a first step in the mapping out of late Byzantine multitext books as a "book genre." Put together with contributions and special studies by other researchers, this may help us reach a better comprehension of medieval books in general and multitext books in particular.

## *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8, a first acquaintance*

Uppsala University Library has among its possessions around seventy-five Greek manuscripts. These have ended up in the library from different paths, but one important collection is the books which once belonged to Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (*codices Upsalienses Graeci 1–8*). During the late seventeenth century this polyglot diplomat travelled widely in Europe. One of his commissions was to acquire old books which might support the Geatish ideas at sway in Sweden in those days. King Karl XI was enthusiastic about seeing Sweden as the original home of the Goths, since it would be an excellent piece of propaganda in his ambitions for the country as Europe's great

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<sup>2</sup> For ancient Greek authors I use the more familiar English or Latinized names. For the Byzantine period I follow the example of *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Greek transliteration, except for those first names which have an equivalent in English).

power, and even though this specific assignment was hopeless, Sparwenfeld did bring home a considerable number of manuscripts from his travels.<sup>3</sup> The European and North African expedition of 1689–1694 also took him to Venice, where he obtained *codices Gr. 1* and *4*, and to Spain where *codices Gr. 2–3* and *5–8* came into his hands.

There is no information in the codex itself on exactly when and where in Spain Sparwenfeld purchased it.<sup>4</sup> What we do know is that it once belonged to the monastery of El Escorial, but disappeared from there in connection with the great fire in 1671.<sup>5</sup> According to the old library catalogs, the codex was in the library of El Escorial for about a hundred years. Gregorio de Andrés and Alejo Revilla claim to have information that it arrived at Philip II's library by way of Diego Guzman's acquisition in 1573 of Matteo Dandolo's books in Venice. But their specifications are confused, and I cannot say that I have been able to confirm this fact.<sup>6</sup> An inventory from the Palace Archive in Madrid verifies that in 1576 the codex was included in Philip II's donation to the Escorial library.<sup>7</sup> In chapter 3 I argue that the codex was probably created around 1480 or somewhat later. The geographic origin is not clear, but there are indications which may point to Crete; at least it seems the scribe had connections to the circle of scribes around Michael Apostoles.

<sup>3</sup> The donation included books in many different languages besides the Greek (Arabic, Syriac, Persian, Chinese, Slavonic, among others; see *Catalogus centuriae* 1706). On Sparwenfeld himself, see further BIRGEGÅRD 2002, 13–17; JACOBOWSKY 1939.

<sup>4</sup> Notes of purchase are found in the following codices: *Gr 2* in Madrid, May 1690; *Gr 6* in Valladolid, April 1690; *Gr 7* in Toledo, April 1690. According to Carl Wilhelm Jacobowsky, Sparwenfeld's stay in Spain lasted nine months, 1689–90 (JACOBOWSKY 1939, 59).

<sup>5</sup> On this calamity, in which nearly 4,000 codices were destroyed, see ANDRÉS 1965, 65–81. *Olim Escorialenses* are also Sparwenfeld's codices *Gr. 2, 5, 6* and *7*; the different notes of purchase (see n. 4) show that these Escorial codices were already dispersed in many directions, and that Sparwenfeld could have acquired *Gr 8* in any of these places or elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> See No. 66 in Andrés' catalog on the lost holdings of El Escorial, where he states that this codex, with the earlier shelf mark A. VI. 16, is identical to *Gr 8*. For the information on Matteo Dandolo as the former owner of the codex he refers to "Revilla p. LXXV n. 142" (ANDRÉS 1968, 38). Yet, in Andrés' appendices to the edition and Spanish translation of Charles Graux's *Essai sur les origines du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (*Los orígenes del fondo griego del Escorial*) a certain "Barlaami historia, papyro, nunquam edita. A. VI. 16" is put forward as the book that Guzman de Silva bought from Dandolo in Venice in 1573 (GRAUX 1982, 509, No. 12). Revilla's No. 142 refers to a parchment codex in octavo: "Historia Aethiopica, 8°, perg." (REVILLA 1936, lxxv). This *Historia Aethiopica* most likely refers to another Barlaam codex and not to *Gr 8*, and since *Gr 8* is a paper codex the reference in Revilla seems to be of no value. I have also checked the archival material which both Revilla and Andrés build upon: the "Barlaami historia papiro" and the "Historia Aethiopica Joannis monachi pergamenus" are both mentioned among the 87 codices which Guzman bought from Dandolo, but I cannot see that this would bring us any further in relation to the provenance of *Gr 8*. Cf. Archivo General de Simancas, sección de la Secretaría de Estado, legajo 1549, ff. 44–45 (Relación de los libros que se han comprado en Venecia por orden de su Mg.<sup>d</sup> y de lo que por ellos pagó el Embaxador Diego Guzmán de Silva los quales se han embiado a su Mg.<sup>d</sup>).

<sup>7</sup> BEER 1903, xcii (Nº 160 c 1). Our codex had by then been kept by Juan de Serojas for two years, i.e. from March 1574. Serojas was Philip II's treasurer of arms and apparently also the keeper of the king's valuable books (BEER 1903, xxviif.).

Stig Rudberg held a different view in this matter, and suggested Constantinople as the place of origin for *Gr 8* by reason of the alleged affinity of *Gr 8* to another manuscript, *Parisinus graecus 2991A*. I will problematize this later on, in connection with the codicological analysis of the codex.<sup>8</sup> Some notes in *Gr 8* by subsequent owners suggest that the book was in Greek hands up until at least the mid-sixteenth century. That is, accordingly, the whole story of *Gr 8* as we know it today: the codex was created in the 1480s (Crete?); owned by various Greek-speaking persons at least until around 1550; *perhaps* bought by Matteo Dandolo after that (not fully corroborated); purchased—in Venice?—in the 1570s on behalf of the Spanish king, Philip II; donated to El Escorial in 1576; gone missing from El Escorial in 1671; acquired by Sparwenfeld around 1690 and brought to Sweden; donated to Uppsala University Library in 1705.<sup>9</sup>

Earlier descriptions of *Gr 8* include Charles Graux's contribution in his *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de Suède*.<sup>10</sup> Like all late nineteenth-century catalogs, Graux's publication has its drawbacks, especially when it comes to codicological matters. But the established practice is also different nowadays in how to deal with minor texts, scribal remarks, and readers' additions. If we wish to assess a book in its entirety, these pieces of *adiaphora* must also count. They give important information on how scribes proceeded when replenishing a book, exploiting the space they had at hand. Furthermore, they may offer insights into how a book was read and used, perhaps indicating the scribe's or a reader's paths of association. Graux's catalog provides no information on these points.

In 1994 Sofia Torallas Tovar published a new survey of those Uppsala codices which were once part of the El Escorial collection. Unfortunately, this cataloging project did not provide as much novel information as one may have hoped. At least for *Gr 8*, her additions seem to be drawn mainly from the articles which Vilhelm Lundström, Stig Rudberg and Lars-Olof Sjöberg had already published on the subject.<sup>11</sup> Many texts in the manuscripts were still left unidentified, just as they were in Graux's catalog. In the case of *Gr 8*, though, an important contribution was Torallas Tovar's suggested identification of the main scribe, Theodoros. Although she was not positively stating this, proposing Nicholas Sagundino as her main alternative (not viable, in my opinion), she did add that "[s]e puede comparar con Hunger, 2, 176, Theodoros, a. 1488." I believe that it is establishable beyond doubt that this Theodoros is the person behind *Gr 8*.<sup>12</sup> This scribe is only known from a colophon in a Paris manuscript and through the comparison of

<sup>8</sup> See further p. 110.

<sup>9</sup> Sparwenfeld's letter of donation is included in *Catalogus centuriae* 1706.

<sup>10</sup> GRAUX & MARTIN 1889, 34–41.

<sup>11</sup> LUNDSTRÖM 1897; RUDBERG 1960; SJÖBERG 1960; RUDBERG 1977.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. TORALLAS TOVAR 1994, 225; *Repertorium* II, 176. On the scribes in *Gr 8*, see further Chapter 3.



his handwriting in the case of *Gr 8* and yet another manuscript. One aspiration of this study is to reveal more about his work procedure and, at best, to give an indication of possible connections between him and other scribes or scriptoria.

Rudberg emphasized the importance of the numerous *inedita* in *Gr 8*.<sup>13</sup> Some of these have since been identified as already known and edited works, others have become the subject of separate studies.<sup>14</sup> Although not unconcerned with the aspect of textual editing, my approach is rather to take a comprehensive view of the book in its entirety, to make sense of its different parts in relation to the whole. This brings us closer to the original idea of the book as it took shape through the scribal work, decoration and assembly of quires and units. It also takes into account the fact that this was the way these texts met the owners and readers of the book, in precisely that co-existence of high and low, of varying subject matter and different genres. Short texts, longer ones, complete texts and minute excerpts: They were all present and contributed to people's reading experience.

## Book history

By taking a "whole-book approach," the investigation of *Gr 8* becomes part of a field of research which is nowadays about to establish itself as an academic discipline in its own right. The labeling of this domain varies between different universities: at some it is called The History of the Book, at others Sociology of Literature, or it may, for example, be included in Cultural Studies. Since this is not a very common common approach in the fields of Classical and Byzantine Studies, I will introduce it briefly, and also relate it on one hand to what manuscript scholars are doing in practice, in their codicological and philological research, on the other hand to the theoretical tendencies behind the development in these areas.

Book history is not a new area of research but it has certainly thrived in recent times. I borrow the definition that the editors Ezra Greenspan and Jonathan Rose gave in the Introduction to the first issue of the journal *Book History* (1998):

Our field of play is the entire history of written communication: the creation, dissemination, and uses of script and print in any medium, including books, newspapers, periodicals, manuscripts, and ephemera. We will explore the social, cultural, and economic history of authorship, publishing, printing, the book arts, copyright, censorship, bookselling and distribution, libraries, literacy, literary criticism, reading habits, and reader response.

<sup>13</sup> RUDBERG 1960, 6.

<sup>14</sup> SEARBY 2003a; SEARBY 2003b; NILSSON & NYSTRÖM 2009.

Two directions of research have shaped recent studies of book history: the French *Histoire du livre* with its connection to the *Annales* circle focusing mainly on social history; and the *Analytical bibliography* with its emphasis on the study of books as physical objects, which has had its strongest support among British and American scholars. The broad outlines of *Histoire du livre* run the risk of generalizing too much about cultural and social movements if not grounded in knowledge of the actual books, their production and reception. And, likewise, *Analytical bibliography* may end up being charged with antiquarianism if no effort is made to put the particulars on editions, printing runs, bindings, et cetera, into a larger social context. Nevertheless, both perspectives are necessary and can fertilize each other.<sup>15</sup>

What most book history research has had in common, regardless of theoretical framework, is that it has been carried out on so-called “modern” books, i.e. on printed material. This is obvious if we look at some of the classics in the field: Lucien Febvre’s and Henri-Jean Martin’s work *L’apparition du livre* from 1958; Elizabeth Eisenstein’s *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* from 1979; the many eminent publications by, for example, Robert Darnton, Roger Chartier, Don F. McKenzie, and Jerome J. McGann; they all reinforce the picture of book history as a discipline interested principally in material from the sixteenth century onwards. But how is it possible for “books” suddenly to “appear” in the second half of the fifteenth century? As if the *manuscript* books and the great demand for them were not the whole reason for inventing the printing press! This lack of historical insight in, or at least conscious disregard of, a long tradition of handwritten book production, is unfortunately widespread. Another consequence of this chronological restriction is that researchers have favored the monolithic single-text books, which soon became the prevailing product of print. Thus, an investigation of medieval, and post-medieval, handwritten books—of which many are multitext and perhaps even multigenetic—becomes a wholesome reminder that books may be created in different ways to meet the needs of the readers, but also that in their different shapes they reflect the time and society in which they are born.

## Codicology

If a certain naïveté has marked many modern studies in their disregard of the pre-Gutenberg book, we must remember that other voices have been heard as well. In “Towards a History of the Mediaeval Book” (1967) Léon De-laissé attacks on more than one flank. He criticizes the histories of the book

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<sup>15</sup> For a short outline of book history and its development, see, for example: DARNTON 1983; RUBIN, 2003. The recent debate on whether book history should be considered a discipline in its own right or rather a meeting place for scholars of different backgrounds, is commented on by BELL 2002 and VAN DER WEEL 2002.

which are concerned merely with the printed book; he deplores the lack of an holistic approach to medieval manuscripts, since many experts have limited themselves to the study of a single element, like script, illumination, or binding; he complains about textual scholars who pay lipservice to the idea of codicology being a necessary component of manuscript studies, but who never reach beyond adding a conventional description of all the manuscripts to their editions and then fail to use those descriptions for the appreciation of the content in the book.<sup>16</sup> “Too many do not yet know,” he writes, “that the mediaeval book can be an object of study in itself and that [...] the archaeology of the manuscript is not only useful to them, but that it will permit the creation of another history, that of the mediaeval book.”<sup>17</sup>

What followed upon Delaissé’s article on the “archaeology of the book” was a discussion as to what this, not altogether new but certainly perfectible, approach should be called.<sup>18</sup> Among those who took part in the discussion were Albert Grujjs and Albert Deroléz.<sup>19</sup> The German term of *Handschriftenkunde* was already well established. But eventually the term generally settled on was *codicology*, nowadays an established scientific branch with its own organizations for scholarly cooperation, conferences, and journals. Albert Grujjs wished to retain two different scopes for *codicology*, one “stricto sensu” for the technical, hands-on study of all physical aspects of codices, and one “lato sensu.” The latter would include, for example, the provenance of the manuscript, its incorporation in libraries or collections and “the social function it fulfilled in its own day, the philosophical and sociological problems it creates as a cultural phenomenon and communication medium, the symbolism with which it is associated, and so on.”<sup>20</sup> Grujjs’ definition of *codicology lato sensu* seems to tally well with definitions of book history at large. I do not see any need for defining the boundaries so strictly, but prefer to use *codicology* as a methodological tool in contributing to the establishment of a history of the book which has room for medieval and ancient books, just as it manages to accommodate the new book formats which arise with computer technology at the other end of the time scale.

## Philology, old and new

About two decades ago, there was a vivid discussion concerning another methodology, *philology*, on its assets and drawbacks, and whether it needed

<sup>16</sup> DELAISSÉ 1967, 433.

<sup>17</sup> DELAISSÉ 1967, 425, n. 7.

<sup>18</sup> That the phenomenon existed long before the name is pointed out by, for example, GUMBERT 1975.

<sup>19</sup> GRUIJS 1972; DEROLÉZ 1973.

<sup>20</sup> GRUIJS 1972, 104.

renewal or not.<sup>21</sup> Contrary to codicology, philology has a history which goes all the way back to (at least) Hellenistic times, to the Alexandrian scholars and their efforts to establish “editions” of the Homeric epics. This kind of scholarly activity has been carried on throughout ancient and medieval times, not least in Byzantium.<sup>22</sup> Without the efforts of Byzantine intellectuals, the full range of the literary and scientific heritage from ancient Greece would not be with us today. I will not present any survey here of how philology has developed over two thousand years, but merely note that the traditional emphasis on classical and biblical texts—where the main objective was to cleanse and restore an important and often canonical text of the long gone past—has played an important formative role for philology and textual criticism. As always, one has to be cautious when applying a certain method to other kinds of materials than those originally intended, or at least ask oneself what the wider implications of such an undertaking would be. Eckehard Simon (1990) problematizes the construction of an “original text” which may never have existed in that form, considering the fact that medieval literature was often transmitted in many versions and redactions. In no way belittling the efforts of editorial scholars, he stresses the importance of the original sources, recognizing the variance of the textual material by returning to the manuscripts themselves. According to Simon, philology in its original meaning as “the study of the written record in its cultural context” is the ineluctable prerequisite of Medieval studies. He anticipates that the codices themselves will be studied as “depositories of cultural history.”<sup>23</sup>

And this is where the spokesmen and -women for the “New Philology” come in. The background seems to be an anxiety among medievalists of being left behind, on the one hand ignored by theoretically more avant-garde disciplines, and on the other hand held back by a heavy weight of ideologies which molded medieval studies into an academic discipline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, among them political nationalism and scientific positivism. Taking Bernard Cerquiglini’s *Eloge de la variante* (1989) as a point of departure, the New Philologists proposed a return to the manuscripts and a greater awareness of the diversity of medieval culture in general and especially of the diversity and fluidity of texts as transmitted in medieval manuscripts.<sup>24</sup> This is an intelligible and fully justifiable proposal, and I would be unwise to take exception to it, as it more or less describes my own interests and orientation. Nevertheless, I think the claims of the so-called

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<sup>21</sup> See for example *Comparative Literature Studies* 27:1 (1990), which gathers contributions from the 1988 conference entitled “What is Philology?” held at the Center for Literary and Cultural Studies, Harvard University. The 1990 special issue of *Speculum* presents other voices on the subject of (New) philology, an issue which in turn gave rise to scholarly debate on the subject during the 1990s (BUSBY 1993; GLEBGEN & LEBSANFT 1997).

<sup>22</sup> On the Byzantine so-called renaissances, periods of intensified scholarly activity, see LEMERLE 1971; WILSON 1983.

<sup>23</sup> SIMON 1990, 19.

<sup>24</sup> NICHOLS 1990, 9.

New Philology should be balanced against what was already in the making, long before Cerquiglini pronounced his eulogy on the variant.

Whatever view one takes of New Philology, one must at least admit that the debate vitalized and inspired researchers to sharpen their arguments. Whether New Philology's focus on non-canonized texts was a contribution, or it was a development already set in motion by (book) historians and philologists in general, a lasting outcome of many recent studies has been the enhanced interest in the reception of texts, and the role of the readers vis-à-vis the books and book production. More ordinary books and "common" readers have also come to the fore and are studied with a zeal previously applied only to high culture and the upper cultural strata of society.<sup>25</sup>

### Contextualizing medieval books

Eckehard Simon's prophecy, or wish, of soon twenty years ago, has in fact come true. Studies of codices as depositories of cultural history have since been undertaken in many areas and languages. The origins of the development in the last two decades can be traced back in different directions, most significantly in the general re-evaluation of the Middle Ages that has been going on in the last few decades. In a way it begun already with Johan Huizinga and his *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen* (1919). Despite much criticism and fluctuating views on Huizinga's work, his reputation lives on. A historian by profession, he has been acclaimed a pioneer of the history of mentalities, of ethnography and cultural anthropology.<sup>26</sup> This is worth mentioning as these new fields of research have also influenced literary studies since at least the 1980s.

Not only have historians looked at the Middle Ages with "new eyes," but also in literary studies scholars have taken a contextual turn in the last couple of decades. *New Criticism's* way of treating texts as autonomous aesthetic entities which should be analyzed *per se*, without being loaded with the historical ballast of context, has been attacked by many theoreticians since the sixties. But the focus on *textuality*, as opposed to *contextuality*, dominated many other school formations during the twentieth century, from Russian formalism over to the Prague movement and Saussure's linguistic theories and all the way through structuralism and poststructuralism; these critics saw language and discourse as the basis of not only texts but every human enterprise, giving precedence to synchronic perspectives over diachronic. The consequence of this position—if everything is considered as text and nothing exists outside the text—has often been a disinclination to contextualize. But

<sup>25</sup> Recent publications on books and reading in Byzantium are, for example, CAVALLIO 2006 and MONDRAIN 2006.

<sup>26</sup> By 2004 Huizinga's bestseller had been reprinted twenty-seven times and had seen numerous translations into different languages during the more than eighty years since it first appeared. On its reception, see PETERS & SIMONS (1999).

there are alternative ways of dealing with this belief in “pantextuality.” Trying to place a text in its chronological, geographical, sociological and other environment is not to put strains on its literary habitat. It means that we create a web of texts around it, allowing the text to come forth as a pattern in the woven fabric. This web is not static, it need not be a matter of the original setting, of source hunting; rather, it allows us to read the text afresh when in a new setting. There is no turning back from the insight that everything is construed, that all history is narrative. Still, the incredulity toward meta-narratives has *not* excused us from scrutinizing the narratives we, as human beings, create and construe daily.<sup>27</sup> If “language, images, and other cultural phenomena are as central to the production of contemporary social order as economic or political processes,”<sup>28</sup> as both postmodernists and their more politically oriented critics (whether they work from a Marxist, feminist, queer, postcolonial, or other agenda) claim, then there is ample reason to explore the impact that manifestations of language have had also in the past.

The new tendency to contextualize is not uniform in scope. It includes thinking anew about our literary heritage and earlier canons, looking at cultural production and cultural practice, bringing in nonliterary texts beside the *belles lettres*, making place for the low, the marginal, and the grotesque, leaving more room for alternative voices, mirroring the complexity and variation of a text rather than its central themes. The orientation which has received most attention in the attempts to reintroduce history in literary studies is the so-called *New Historicism* with Stephen Greenblatt and Catherine Gallagher as its initiators.<sup>29</sup> Not being a theory or doctrine in itself—the theoretical perspective varies with each practitioner—the label stands for a way of looking at texts not only as representations of a society’s behavioral patterns but also as components in re/shaping these patterns and codes. Questions of authority and power, cultural dominance versus subversive voices, are the focus of inquiry. I am not endorsing New Historicism’s postulations as a whole, but certain prerequisites have their analogues in my investigation. The assumption that representations are best understood when considered in the context of their specific historical period is one which comes naturally enough. Likewise the willingness to consider all sorts of texts and not just the aesthetically valued pieces of literature. I believe that New Historicism’s interest in identity formation as conditioned by discourse can be a fruitful point of departure in a venture to analyze the changes which

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<sup>27</sup> The definition of postmodern as “incredulity toward metanarratives” is Jean-François Lyotard’s (Lyotard 2005, xxiv). On history as narrative, see also WHITE 1987.

<sup>28</sup> MCGOWAN 2005, 769.

<sup>29</sup> Even Greenblatt himself vacillates in his designation of this theoretical movement, and has suggested “cultural poetics” as an improvement. Nevertheless, the label has stuck and is now more or less accepted. See further GALLAGHER & GREENBLATT 2000, 1–18. A balanced presentation of New Historicism together with further suggestions on where to go from there, is given by Brook Thomas (THOMAS 1991).

Byzantine society and culture went through in Late Palaiologan times and after the downfall of the Byzantine Empire.

When it comes to understanding cultural representations in the context of their specific historical period, we encounter a built-in problem concerning how to define these periods and overarching structures to which we wish to relate specific documents or occurrences. Here I find myself bound in the hermeneutical dilemma, the connection between part and whole, between specifics and generalizations. We need the particulars to understand the whole (even if, when it comes to history, we are aware that the “whole” is only a creation of our limited minds), and yet without the whole the particulars lose their relative position. *Gr 8* is in a way caught in-between different cultures and different times. It was produced in a Greek-speaking environment but probably in Venetian-ruled territories, handwritten although the printed book was beginning to gain in importance, displaying Byzantine learning at a time when Byzantium itself was past saving. In other terms, the cultural setting for *Gr 8* is not altogether easily determined.

Also on a micro-level the relation between parts and whole will take up a great deal of my study, viz. the relation between texts within a book and books made up of separate codicological units. A new appreciation of medieval cultural expressions must include not only the texts, but also their embodiment in books. In choosing the book and especially the multitext book as an object of study, we need not conjure up a context for the individual text. It is there for us to explore, in abundant constellations, since every handwritten book is unique and every instance of a text put together with other texts—by somebody and for somebody—renders a new path to understanding the place of these texts in their cultural setting.

## Previous research on multitext books

Investigations of medieval multitext books have been carried out from various perspectives. Many of them focus on a particular manuscript, or an individual author’s texts as they have been transmitted in multitext books. Even text genres, for example vernacular love poems or sermons, have been studied. Many interesting studies are being done on multitext books in the fields of Middle English, French, Dutch, Latin and other language areas. I confine myself to mentioning a couple of important conferences/colloquia on miscellanies and multitext books which have put the spotlight on this area of research. Unfortunately, the terminology for multitext books is not constant among scholars; I will return to this problem in Chapter 2.

## A few conference volumes

Pioneering in the area of multitext books was a conference held at the University of Pennsylvania in 1993, the proceedings of which are collected in the volume *The Whole Book*, edited by Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (1996). The focus of the conference was on the taxonomy of medieval miscellaneous manuscripts, mainly from the perspective of contents. In the conference volume, Barbara Shailor's article "A Cataloger's View" has a special bearing on what I try to do in my study. Shailor starts out by suggesting that *miscellaneous* manuscripts may not be an appropriate term for describing structurally or textually complex codices. In most cases there is an underlying principle of organization that helps explain both the physical format and the contents of the volume. After describing four types of fifteenth-century (Latin) "miscellaneous" books from the Beinecke Library, she concludes with some advice on how to handle collections of this kind: "I would try to describe more explicitly and consistently the relationship between the structure of the codex and its texts; I would speculate on the apparent principle or principles of organization and would place each volume more firmly in its cultural milieu."<sup>30</sup> The end result would be a fuller comprehension of books which were—for the audiences or individuals that produced, read, and used them—probably not very miscellaneous after all.

In 1999 a colloquium took place in Brussels regarding the Van Hulthem manuscript, an early fifteenth-century Dutch miscellany containing more than 200 texts. The lectures, which deal not only with the Van Hulthem manuscript but also with other miscellanies from the Low Countries, France and England, were edited by Ria Jansen-Sieben and Hans van Dijk in *Codices miscellaneorum: Brussels Van Hulthem Colloquium 1999*.<sup>31</sup> From Wim van Anrooij's article, "Medieval Miscellanies from the Low Countries," we may conclude that scholarly work on Dutch miscellanies has, relatively speaking, come a long way. Reasons for the vivid interest in these kinds of manuscripts are manifold, but the fact that a few of them are central transmitters of medieval Dutch literature must have helped. Also, the religious revival of *Devotio moderna* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with its focus on practical piety for both laity and priests, brought about an intense copying activity, the result of which was often *rapiaria*, i.e. miscellanies for devotional use.<sup>32</sup> As a consequence, there is a rich treasure of miscellaneous

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<sup>30</sup> SHAILOR 1996, 165.

<sup>31</sup> The Brussels colloquium was part of the larger Van Hulthem project and of the project "Medieval collective manuscripts from the Low Countries," a venture which has also manifested itself in the publication series *Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden*. The term "collective" for multi-text manuscripts is, to my mind, not an optimal choice, since it may be misinterpreted as "produced by several scribes," a mode of procedure which may apply also to manuscripts which contain only one text. Cf. the generally accepted term *collective novel* for novels which are created by several authors in cooperation.

<sup>32</sup> On *Devotio moderna* and book production, see KOCK 1999.



manuscripts extant, waiting to be analyzed. According to van Anrooij, two important changes have taken place recently to enhance our understanding of miscellanies: for one thing “it appears a rule rather than an exception that miscellanies were produced in several phases, which means that the original design of a manuscript can be quite different from the eventual result.”<sup>33</sup> This implies that it might not be enough to look for just *one* function of a manuscript, that we rather need to be open to the possibility that different phases can reflect different functions over time. The second conclusion Anrooij draws is that a clarification need be made on the concept of “composite volume.” It seems solutions to this problem now exist, through the efforts of several scholars: more on that in Chapter 2.

A more recent conference, held at the University of Cassino in 2003, gave evidence of the rapid progress in this field of research: investigations are nowadays excitingly manifold and wide-ranging. Focus has shifted to include more of codicological studies, discussion of terminologies covering all kinds of medieval multitext books, statistical treatment of larger library collections, typologies of different kinds, the reader’s perspective, and much more. The proceedings of the conference appeared as *Il codice miscellaneo: tipologie e funzioni*, edited by Edoardo Crisci and Oronzo Pecere (*Segno e testo* 2, 2004). Five of the fourteen contributions are expressly devoted to Greek and Byzantine materials; the others are either more general in their scope or deal with books in Latin, Italian and French.<sup>34</sup> As far as terminology for multitext books is concerned, I found both Peter Gumbert’s and Marilena Maniacci’s discussions very helpful. As will be obvious in Chapter 3, I follow Gumbert more closely (partly a result of my writing in English and not in Italian).

## Studies of Byzantine multitext books

Inquiries into Byzantine multitext books have been fewer than into their Western counterparts, especially in the capacity as “whole books” and not merely as containers of certain selected texts. The impression conveyed is that up until recently it has been a matter of isolated efforts, with no general acknowledgement of how large a part the multitext books play in Byzantine book culture. I will mention a few studies to illustrate their different kinds of scope. The first is one of the earliest examples where attention was given

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<sup>33</sup> ANROOIJ 1999, 22.

<sup>34</sup> The following articles concern Greek and Byzantine miscellaneous books: Marilena Maniacci, “Il codice greco ‘non unitario’: Tipologie e terminologia” (75–107); Edoardo Crisci, “I più antichi codici miscellanei greci” (109–144); Filippo Ronconi, “Per una tipologia del codice miscellaneo greco in epoca mediobizantina” (145–182); Daniele Bianconi, “Libri e mani: Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell’età dei Paleologi” (311–363); Michael D. Reeve, “Dionysius the Periegete in Miscellanies” (365–378).

specifically to miscellaneous manuscripts. The three others are more recent and of interest in a comparison of method and aims.

In 1911 C. F. Georg Heinrici published his *Griechisch-Byzantinische Gesprächsbücher und Verwandtes aus Sammelhandschriften*, in which he set out to explore a text genre: *erotapokriseis* or “question-and-answer literature.” Still, he recognized that texts of that kind were transmitted primarily in miscellaneous manuscripts and took some of these as his point of departure, describing their contents and character, and surmising their use. Heinrici’s interest lay in theological miscellaneous manuscripts: he emphasized their popular character (“bei ihnen liegt der Schwerpunkt in der Volkstümlichkeit”) and saw them as giving the truest and most lucid picture of the interests and perspectives of the Byzantine Church.<sup>35</sup> Even if Heinrici did not esteem the miscellanies very highly—likening them to “das Unterholz im Walde der patristischen Literatur”—he called attention to the wealth of subject matter presented in the text collections.<sup>36</sup> Though they are all unique, their distinctive features may give us a clue to which interests lay behind each of them. As for the geneses of miscellanies, Heinrici speculates about a possible development from Bible-, Psalter- and Gospel manuscripts with commentaries attached, and from the *catenae*, the exegetic texts which were made up of connected series (chains) of extracts from the writings of the Church Fathers.<sup>37</sup>

In *Ἀνωνύμων Φιλοσοφικά Σύμμεικτα: A Miscellany in the Tradition of Michael Psellos* (1992), Ilias Pontikos gives a presentation of a thirteenth-century composite book containing mainly rhetorical and philosophical texts. *Codex Baroccianus 131* is a comprehensive volume of 541 folios, originating from Nicaea and Constantinople around 1250–1280.<sup>38</sup> Pontikos has limited himself to a thorough study of what he describes as a unique miscellany *inside* the larger composite, i.e. ff. 397<sup>v</sup>–446<sup>v</sup>. This seems to form an autonomous section, copied by a single scribe around 1250 and comprising short treatises on a variety of subjects: rhetorical, medical, meteorological and theological matters are touched upon.<sup>39</sup> Pontikos argues that a significant

<sup>35</sup> HEINRICI 1911, 6.

<sup>36</sup> “Was wissenschaftliches und erbauliches Gemeingut war, ist in ihnen regellos in bunter Folge aufgehäuft, längere und kürzere Auszüge aus den patristischen Klassikern, [...] Florilegien, Gnomensammlungen, Glossarien, Namenlexika mit Deutungen, dogmatische, liturgische, kasuistische, kirchenrechtliche, ethische, geschichtliche, chronologische, naturwissenschaftliche, astrologische, rhetorische, grammatische Traktate, Apokalyptisches, Apokryphes, Legenden, zwischendurch auch medizinische Rezepte, Beschwörungen und sonstige Zeugnisse für den Aberglauben der Zeit” (HEINRICI 1911, 6). Although Heinrici’s enumeration of different kinds of texts is quite inclusive and concerns miscellaneous books as a group, it is in fact not wide of the mark to fit as a description of the single codex we are dealing with here, *Gr* 8.

<sup>37</sup> HEINRICI 1911, 7.

<sup>38</sup> For a description of the whole manuscript, see WILSON 1978 and WILSON 1966.

<sup>39</sup> Wilson suggests that this scribe might tentatively be identified as Nikephoros Alyates (1966, 306).

part of the texts emanates from the intellectual milieu of the Byzantine polymath Michael Psellos (1018–c.1081) and his contemporaries (for example Symeon Seth). The miscellany was further enriched with Aristotelian material in the twelfth century (Psellos is known as a fervid advocate of Plato as opposed to Aristotle), maybe in the circle of scholars around Anna Komnena, wherein Aristotle's works received special attention.<sup>40</sup> Pontikos calls attention to the fact that, taken as a whole, the *Baroccianus 131* consists of miscellaneous works from authors of primarily the twelfth century, and suggests that this could indicate that the anonymous compiler of the miscellany transmitted in the Baroccianus copy, ff. 397–446, may actually have been one of these authors who belonged to the group which took part in and furthered the twelfth-century Aristotelian revival in Byzantium.<sup>41</sup> An interesting part of Ilias Pontikos' study, from my perspective, is the discussion of the purpose of the miscellany, why it was compiled in the first place. He elaborates on this question in chapter IV, arguing that it may have been created as a teacher's compendium and used as such in the *enkyklios paideia* of twelfth-century Constantinople. Regrettably Pontikos stops at this point, having given an outline of the *genesis* of the compendium: we do not get an answer as to how this compendium or miscellany came to fit into the larger composite book (*Baroccianus 131*) of mid-thirteenth century Nicaea, or whether its use would still be the same when put into the new and much more voluminous textual mix a century later.

In his article "Literarische Interessen in der Palaiologenzeit anhand von Gelehrten-codices" (1996) Peter Schreiner shows how miscellanies can mirror the intellectual interests of a certain period of time or a specific person. The "Gelehrten-codex" is a multitext book compiled by one or several scribes, which furthermore displays signs of continued study, e.g. in the form of added notes and interlinear glosses. Schreiner presents a case study of *Vaticanus gr. 914*, which is an autograph by Isidore of Kiev. He traces the intellectual interests of this theologian and humanist by looking at Isidore's selection of texts, his scribal working method, and the notes that he added. With his study Schreiner indicates a promising path in the study of scholars' miscellanies, arguing that the combined use of palaeography, codicology and literary studies may contribute new insights not least in cases where external biographical information is scarce.

Finally, a recent study of miscellaneous manuscripts which saw their origin in the ninth to twelfth centuries. In *I manoscritti greci miscellanei* (2007), Filippo Ronconi draws attention to the fact that two main approaches have thus far dominated the studies of miscellaneous manuscripts: one is the focus on the "mise-en-recueil," how the texts are distributed in the con-

<sup>40</sup> PONTIKOS 1992, xxxix.

<sup>41</sup> PONTIKOS 1992, xl.

tainer/codex; the other is the container's physical or material structure.<sup>42</sup> According to Ronconi, the center of attention has been on the material aspects, while the texts have been considered primarily in their spatial dimension, their extension in relation to the accessible writing area. Ronconi argues that these two approaches should be supplemented with the historical-philological perspective, the study of the texts as such. An integrated study of the manuscripts that takes the palaeographical and philological details of the texts into due account, may contribute, *inter alia*, to the reconstruction of the genesis of a miscellaneous manuscript, through the tracking down of model manuscripts. The characteristics of the scribal hands are also important here, since the individual traits of a hand as well as signs of scribal collaboration may clarify what kind of cultural products these manuscripts were. By way of a number of case studies on middle Byzantine manuscripts Ronconi dexterously demonstrates the variety and complexity in this field of research.<sup>43</sup>

The study of *Gr 8* will in some ways resemble the aforementioned, in others not. Like Pontikos and Schreiner I have only one codex in focus. A comparative study of manuscripts related to *Gr 8* would indeed be interesting to undertake, but it cannot be accommodated within the scope of this study. Pontikos, Schreiner and Ronconi are concordant in their ambition to situate the codices in their original cultural milieu. In this Pontikos quarries deeper, but he also breaks off at the stage of looking at only one part of *Codex Baroccianus 131*; in addition, he offers an edition of the texts. Schreiner's study is only an article and therefore not fully comparable with the other two items, but his methodological discussion is important and his emphasis on the combination of codicology with literary studies attractive. He suggests that manuscripts may be seen as a "psychograms," a means for profiling a certain scribe, owner, or user.<sup>44</sup> The significance of the scribe is highlighted by both Schreiner and Ronconi. But whereas Schreiner gives much attention to the individual person behind the codex, Ronconi concentrates more on an assessment of different types of multitext codices; cultural history in both cases, but on various levels of particularity and general features.

The study of *Gr 8* may be characterized as follows. In common with Schreiner's study, I deal with an example of a late Byzantine codex marked by the cultural situation of the fifteenth century—the end of the empire, the migration westwards of Byzantine intellectuals, the Church union discus-

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<sup>42</sup> RONCONI 2007, 17ff.

<sup>43</sup> Ronconi's book came to my attention at a very late stage, and I have thus not had the opportunity to benefit from his presentation in the preparation of this thesis.

<sup>44</sup> "[D]ie Forderung, die Handschrift auch als Psychogramm des gelehrten Kopisten oder Besitzers und Benutzers zu deuten, sollte doch nicht außer acht gelassen werden als Forschungsziel, in dem Paläographie, Kodikologie und Literaturgeschichte zusammenwirken" (SCHREINER 1996, 215).

sions and the humanist movement in Italy. The codicological structure as well as the scribe and his work procedure make up one center of attention. Another will be the literary (and not so literary) contents of the codex. The progression will be along these lines: Chapter 2 gives a background on terminology and on the technical aspects of analyzing multitext codices. Chapter 3 is the codicological investigation, where the book is dissected in all its structural parts. In Chapter 4 the texts are in focus; I group and characterize them all in an attempt to find typological connections throughout the whole book as well as in relation to the separate structural units. The aim is to sketch a portrait of the book and of the scribe behind it. If Chapter 4 deals with the central tendencies, finding the median so to speak, Chapter 5 is an illustration of the sprawling tendency in miscellanies, where sometimes the range between extremes can be very wide as regards the reflected interests. In this instance three disparate texts have been selected for comprehensive presentation.

## 2 Composite Books and Miscellanies

### Multitext books

What expectations do modern readers generally have of books and the contents of books? When we go to the bookstore and browse, we usually find inside the covers *one* novel, or *one* biography, or a manual over *one* kind of technical equipment; the book is probably written by *one* author or maybe by more than one author but collaboratively, as in the collective novel. But there are other models: a book can hold the collected works by one and the same author, or a choice of those works (or just part of one work—when the work in its entirety is too long to fit into just one volume). It can be a collection of essays by *different* authors but over a common theme. It could cover, say, Polish poetry from the interwar period. Whenever there are more than one text in the book, we can easily find a common denominator for the text collection. What we do *not* expect to find is a book which contains one text on computer programming, followed by one text on effective bargaining, followed by George Orwell's *Animal Farm*, followed by an enumeration of household remedies against migraine or ulceritis. I might, as a reader, be interested in all of these things, but they do not belong in the same book.

There was a time, however, when a book could cover subjects as diverse as those mentioned above. More often than not the medieval handwritten book held two or more texts. One could almost say that the monograph was the exception. When did this happen and why? To start from the other chronological end: yes, most likely Greek books in antiquity were monographs—by force, more or less, since the format of the book roll could not accommodate larger quantities of text. According to Theodore Skeat a standard roll during the Greco-Roman period was made up from 20 sheets (*kollemata*) of papyrus “glued” together.<sup>45</sup> With the normal sheet breadth of 16–18 cm the standard roll would thus measure 320–360 cm. This means that a text the length of Plato's *Phaedo* would fit when written in a “compressed hand,” while a less crammed hand would comfortably yield enough space to fit in one or two tragedies or at most three short songs of Homer.<sup>46</sup> Thus, if

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<sup>45</sup> SKEAT 1982, 169.

<sup>46</sup> GALLO 1986, 13. Rhetorical texts are often found written in narrower columns, i.e. requir-

several works were to be put in the same book roll, it had to be either small-format genres, like epigrams or apophthegms, or else excerpts from longer works.

There is, however, a curious formulation in Plutarch, *Life of Antony* 58, which might have a bearing on the question of the papyrus roll being a monograph or not. Plutarch speaks about the Pergamene library and how “εἴκοσι μυριάδες βυβλίων ἀπλῶν” were located there. Likewise, Tzetzes in his *Preface to Aristophanes* gives some numbers for the library in Alexandria, viz., “βίβλων μὲν συμμιγῶν ἀριθμὸς τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδες, ἀπλῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμιγῶν βίβλων μυριάδες ἑννέα.” Researchers have discussed this at some length around the turn of the last century, but I have not found any recent contributions to this matter.<sup>47</sup> The numbers have generated more comments than the categories of books mentioned. But even if the figures themselves might be inaccurate owing to palaeographical mistakes during transmission, there ought to be some explanation for the terms “mixed, simple, and unmixed rolls.” It is difficult to imagine what else could be referred to besides contents. Perhaps the monograph, the one-text book (roll) was not totally dominant after all?

If we assume that the “mixed” rolls refer to multitext books, there is still room for different interpretations as to what they contained. Some material evidence of multitext books from extant papyrus finds may help us out here. Most often a roll of this kind contains a few texts—usually poems—by the same author. Some present more than one author but similar kinds of text, as for instance, the “garland” of Hellenistic epigrams by many different authors, which Meleagros compiled.<sup>48</sup> There are also a small number which we might call *miscellanies*: rolls containing several texts or parts of texts from various genres and by different authors. These are usually considered to have been created for educational purposes. A well-known case is the Cairo papyrus, “Livre d’écolier,” from the 3rd century BCE, a roll which on its 2½ meter of papyrus embraced passages from Euripides’ *Phoenician Women* and *Ino*, from book five of the *Odyssey*, a couple of epigrams and New Comedy fragments, in addition to syllabaries, lists, and a mathematical manual.<sup>49</sup>

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ing more writing material since this would swell the number of blank spaces in-between the columns. Poetry, on the other hand, could be written in volumes of smaller size than the standard format mentioned above.

<sup>47</sup> See DEVREESSE 1954, 69; FRASER 1972, I, 329 and II, 485, with further references. The edition of Flacelière and Chambry presents a different reading, in accordance with Reiske’s conjecture: εἴκοσι μυριάδες βυβλίων ἀπλῶς (*à peu près* deux cent mille volumes). But in the light of Tzetzes’ wording, the text had perhaps better be kept as it stands in the manuscripts. Cf. FLACELIÈRE & CHAMBRY 1977, 157.

<sup>48</sup> See, for instance, Kathryn Gutzwiller’s endeavor to establish the order of these epigrams in the very books, i.e., the book rolls (GUTZWILLER 1998).

<sup>49</sup> P. Cairo inv. 65445; Pack<sup>2</sup> 2642. “Le contenu du papyrus est d’un caractère scolaire évident; mais l’écriture n’est pas celle d’un écolier. C’est une sorte de manuel, où l’enfant pouvait s’exercer à lire et à compter, en même temps qu’il y trouvait diverses notions utiles à son

In the era of book rolls there are examples of what might be seen as another kind of “fore-runner” of the multitext codex. The use of wooden cases (τεῦχοι or κιβωτά) for three or four rolls is attested already in classical and Hellenistic times (for example in Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII, 5, 14): created to meet the physical demands for containment these receptacles would also entail the opportunity to gather small corpora of texts.<sup>50</sup> We know of the ancient grammarians’ habit to make three-partite or four-partite sets, not only of the works of tragedians and comedians, but also of Plato’s dialogues, to take one prose example.<sup>51</sup> It seems that ancient and medieval source material points to an “originally” (i.e. going back to Hellenistic libraries) alphabetic order within these groups of tragedies and comedies. But then again, we also see in some manuscripts a different order—or discontinuity—within the same groupings. According to Alain Blanchard this goes back to the moment of transcription from scroll to codex: “Le cadre originel de ces désordres (the corpora in non-alphabetic order) est sans doute constitué par de petits codex, de trois et quatres unités, correspondant chacun au contenu d’une boîte.”<sup>52</sup>

But the radical change came with the codex. At first the book format changed from roll to single quire codex, an operation that saved writing space and thus the expense of writing material.<sup>53</sup> Or, inversely, you could afford to fit another text into the same length of papyrus. The next development of the codex form—the codex made up of several quires—gave the advantage of accommodating larger amounts of text into the same volume. Thus it was during late antiquity that the multitext book could rise in importance and become a common alternative to the unitary, single-text book which had so far dominated the field.<sup>54</sup> In his survey of early miscellaneous codices, which are extant in more or less fragmentary state, Edoardo Crisci shows that the miscellaneous book was in the initial stages a rather marginal product, geographically as well as in other ways. It was modest in its graphic and textual appearance, often written by a non-professional scribe on writing material of less than average quality. These unpretentious books seem to

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éducation” (GUÉRAUD & JOUGUET 1938, xiv). On its contents, see further GUÉRAUD & JOUGUET 1938, xv–xxiv.

<sup>50</sup> On the term τεῦχος, see ATSALOS 1971, 113–128.

<sup>51</sup> D. L. III. 61: “Ἐνιοὶ δέ, ὧν ἔστι καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός, εἰς τριλογίας ἔλκουσι τοὺς διαλόγους. Anton-Hermann Chroust suggests that Aristophanes of Byzantium (ca. 257–180 BCE) and others were concerned with the arrangement of the *Corpus Platonicum* “in order to make it more accessible and understandable to the general public or, perhaps, in order to display their philological, philosophical or literary talents” (CHROUST 1965, 36). The practical logistics of the library are not explicitly mentioned but must have been an important starting-point for a librarian like Aristophanes.

<sup>52</sup> BLANCHARD 1989, 187.

<sup>53</sup> SKEAT 1982, 175.

<sup>54</sup> “Al contrario degli antichi rotoli di papiro, le pergamene bizantine e quelle del Medioevo latino sono per lo più, specie da una certa età in poi, grossi volumi contenenti vaste raccolte delle opere di un autore, o anche miscellanee” (PASQUALI 1952, 36).



have been produced for immediately practical and multifarious use. Varied in content but still with a clear scope, they became “uno strumento librario efficace” for Greek and Coptic readers in early Christian surroundings, whether for studies or work, for personal reading or collective moral edification, for circulation of doctrinal polemics or just sharing a good reading experience with your friends.<sup>55</sup>

In his article “Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo” Armando Petrucci also focuses on these early stages of the production and use of miscellaneous books. But his definition of miscellany is more limited than Crisci’s. Petrucci deals with the book “in which several texts of different authors are more or less coherently juxtaposed in a single container.”<sup>56</sup> He excludes from his survey multitext books with only one author represented (corpora). Further, he leaves out anthologies of excerpts or of citations, liturgical books, so-called composite books where different texts share a common container despite being written separately in successive phases over time, and later copies of early miscellanies. I can see why Petrucci sets these limits, and that they are useful for his purpose of tracing the beginnings of the miscellany. But in a wider context, and certainly for my investigation, this strict delimitation of the phenomenon would be counter-productive. The coherent miscellany is but one variety of many in the area of multitext books, and if we wish to assess how these books reflect on the reading habits and transmission of texts, we must see to the whole field. We do need to take into account these other appearances of multitext books: the school exercises, the re-use of manuscripts, and the later additions of new text(s) to a scroll or codex. It has to do with the expectancy of the reader (and of the scribe): what you have seen in other places, namely in composite books, seems less farfetched when you are up to create a “miscellany proper,” i.e. an intentional copying of different authors and texts into the same container. What is crucial is the *function* of the book. This functional—user’s—perspective will also be explored in relation to *Gr 8*. But before we proceed to the analysis of *Gr 8* from this and other angles, we need to disentangle some of the terms and concepts which appear in the area of multitext books.

## Terminology current at the time

Can we learn from Byzantine vocabulary how multitext books were looked upon? What is obvious, according to Basile Atsalos, is the abundance of terms related to the codex, their variation, concurrence and fluidity. It seems that among the various terms which denominate monographs (βίβλος – βιβλίον – βιβλίς, πυκτίον – πυξίον, δέλτος, τεύχος, as well as diminutives and other variant forms of these) most of them are also employed for the

<sup>55</sup> CRISCI 2004, 142–144.

<sup>56</sup> PETRUCCI 1986, 173.

miscellaneous codex, which Atsalos defines as “un recueil [...] des ouvrages portant sur le même sujet ou sur des sujets différents.”<sup>57</sup> As if this were not enough: sometimes the very same terms designate the separate parts of a text embracing more than one volume, or individual works in an author’s production, and also quite often individual texts and treatises inside a miscellany:

parfois, dans les manuscrits, et surtout dans les “codices miscellanei” ces termes sont utilisés, non pour indiquer le “codex” lui-même comme matériel, mais un ouvrage ou un traité qui y est contenu. Cette dernière notion est presque de règle en ce qui concerne les auteurs.<sup>58</sup>

This means that from a codicological point of view the Byzantine terminology for codices is of little help in assessing what a material might have looked like, and neither would it seem to yield any chronological hints as to which terms designated what at what time. This negative evidence—or absence—of a *specific* terminology for *codices miscellanei* in Byzantine writings can nevertheless be taken as an indicator of the “normality” of multitext books. The miscellaneous contents did not make these books stand out from other kinds of books so as to require a special terminology. They were simply “books”, looked at and treated as any other book.<sup>59</sup>

## The container and its contents

### Physical structure

Multitext books can be approached mainly from two perspectives: the physical structure of the book and the contents. Terminologies have often been obscured by the mixing of these two aspects. Even Denis Muzerelle’s so fundamental *Vocabulaire codicologique* is deficient in this area, since his terms “do not constitute a logically coherent system; they mix reference to the physical makeup with reference to the contents.”<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> ATSALOS 1971, 41.

<sup>58</sup> ATSALOS 1971, 42.

<sup>59</sup> According to Spyridon Lambros, a few late terms—i.e., terms which appear in post-Byzantine manuscripts—seem to denote miscellanies specifically: πανθέκης, πολυμγές βιβλίον, πολύβιβλον and βιβλοπανσύλλεκτος ἀνθολογία. They are mentioned by Lambros in his revised version of E.M. Thompsons *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Thompson – Lambros, *Παλαιογραφία· Ἐγχειρίδιον Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Παλαιογραφίας ὑπὸ Ἐδνάρδου Θόμψονος κατὰ μετάφρασιν Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου*, Athens 1903, 108–109). Atsalos, however, is skeptic about their importance since they were not in general use (ATSALOS 1971, 41 and 66–68). I still find it interesting that these terms do appear at this late stage in Byzantine book culture. Even if we find only scattered examples of them, it might at any rate hint at a rising awareness of or need for distinctions as to different kinds of books.

<sup>60</sup> GUMBERT 2004, 20. Cf. MUNK OLSEN 1998. The terms that apply to these matters are found in MUZERELLE 1985, § 143 (Aspects généraux du livre: le codex) and § 431 (Contenu de volume: types de contenu), and also in the web site (<http://vocabulaire.irht.cnrs.fr/vocab.htm>).

The reason why it is so important to establish the structure or stratigraphy of multitext books is the large variation in how handwritten books were created, and also the fact that codices are not stable entities. They can be—and often are—rebound, and concomitant changes in the structure can take place: parts of the original book may be lost or deliberately left out, other parts may be added, the internal order of the quires may be confused, or new texts may be added on blank pages long after the primary text or text collection was created. To analyze the text(s) in such a manuscript without awareness of the “archaeology” is a precarious undertaking. It is problematical to draw any conclusions as to how texts belong together. Likewise one cannot unconditionally assume that facts of origin and date in one part of the manuscript are transferable to other parts: this has to be established for each part individually.

What “parts” am I talking about? The structural units commonly dealt with in a manuscript description are the *quires* of a codex; information on these is given in the collational formulae of modern manuscript catalogs. Certainly we need to know how the book is built up from quires, but this must be related to the texts. That is how we can begin to map out the *codicological units* (*éléments codicologiques*, in Birger Munk Olsen’s terms), which are the self-contained “building modules” of a codex.<sup>61</sup>

A codex may, of course, have been created in one single operation, when “somebody decides to make a book with a certain text or set of texts, or to have it made; then the work is executed, and at a certain moment it is ready.”<sup>62</sup> This means that the codex contains only one codicological unit (a so-called *monomeric* codex). But often the procedure of codex production is a lot more complicated than this. To find out whether a codex contains two or more codicological units, you have to look for the boundaries between them. Normally these can be found when quire boundaries coincide with the ending of one text or group of texts, a new text beginning on the next quire. But each case must be analyzed closely; there may be an incidental ending of a text on the last verso of a quire even when the next quire is part of the same scribal operation. One also needs to observe other kinds of breaks or boundaries which may give us clues as to how the codex was put together. These may be a change in handwriting, or in writing material (a new paper or parchment quality or a different watermark or even a change in the dimensions of the leaves). The layout of the page (*mise-en-page*) can be different. It may be a change in decoration, or in the quire signatures. Sometimes the outer leaves of a quire are worn or soiled, indicating that this part of the codex was used as a separate booklet before being bound in its present

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<sup>61</sup> Module: “a separable component, frequently one that is interchangeable with others, for assembly into units [for our purposes, read: books] of different size, complexity, or function,” as the *Random House Dictionary* (rev. ed., New York 1988) puts it.

<sup>62</sup> GUMBERT 2004, 23.

surrounding.<sup>63</sup> Often the last quire of a codicological unit differs from the rest of the quires; maybe a couple of leaves are cut out, or have been added to fit in the whole text. A proficient scribe might have gradually maximized the amount of text which goes into the writing area, written the words more tightly and added a line or two. If his or her calculation was correct no addition of leaves to the quire would be necessary. Another important indication of unit endings is the presence of blank pages (which might eventually have been filled with new text).

All these changes and irregularities *might* indicate that we have identified a codicological unit, but every instance must be judged carefully on its own premises, the crucial point being that its content forms a self-sufficient whole.<sup>64</sup> When the codex contains two or more codicological units it is called a *composite*. Since the definition of codicological units demands that we now have different, and autonomous, texts in the units, a composite is by definition also a *multitext codex*. We will come back to these concepts in greater detail in the analysis of *Gr 8* in Chapter 3.

### The relation between contents and structure

Apart from the physical structure, multitext books can also be approached from the perspective of contents. The combination of different texts in one book can be more or less complex. Many of the terminological discrepancies originate in different ways of dealing with this complexity. An obvious example is the term *miscellany* or *miscellaneous codex* which seems to have been given as many definitions as there are scholars in this area. Should this term cover all kinds of multitext books, both the structurally homogeneous and the composite codices? Should it designate only the contentually heterogeneous or should we include other possible text combinations as well: different texts by the same author (corpora), different kinds of texts which have a common use (e.g. liturgical text collections)? Would collections of excerpts qualify, or must the texts be complete? I have tried to avoid this problem by using the overall term “multitext book” for the whole field, regardless of structural differences and regardless of how similar or diverse the texts seem.

Some prefer to use the term *miscellany* in contrast to the *composite*, so that the miscellany would always be monomerous or at least homogenetic, i.e. produced in the same circle and approximately at the same time. This is

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<sup>63</sup> For further discussions of the *booklet* together with examples from English composite manuscripts, see the articles by Pamela Robinson and by Ralph Hanna III (ROBINSON 1980; HANNA 1986).

<sup>64</sup> Peter Gumbert gives a full and very distinct definition: “a codicological unit is a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation—unless it is an enriched, enlarged or extended unit, containing a complete text or set of texts—unless it is an unfinished, defective or dependent unit.” For further clarification, see GUMBERT 2004.

unfortunate, because it maintains the confusion of the structural and contentual aspects. It might also put too much focus on the stratigraphy: even though we, as researchers, need to establish how the books were constructed, we should keep in mind that the *medieval readers* probably saw little reason to treat composite books differently from homogeneous books. If you copy a composite you end up with a structurally homogeneous book: the contents are exactly the same, so why call one of them miscellaneous and not the other? Since the concept of miscellaneity is so problematic, my suggestion would be to leave the term *miscellany* out of the structural discussion altogether and reserve it for the contents, as is also common usage when it comes to modern literature.<sup>65</sup> Here we could be generous and simply let it stand for “containing various texts” and then define subgroups. For the structural differences I think it is better to use the terms discussed above (the monomerous codex, the composite, and further specifications thereof, all based on the analysis of codicological units) and, hopefully, minimize the confusion.

In German (and Swedish) one can indicate the structural difference between monomerous miscellanies and composite miscellanies by using the terms *Sammelhandschrift* and *Sammelband* respectively. Even if these terms give a first and very useful preliminary sorting, they cannot account for all the variations in stratigraphy. Grouping multitext books as monomerous or composite books is just the first step. To grasp the stratigraphy in greater detail we must be able to specify all the different instances where a book has changed its appearance over time. This is where Gumbert introduces such concepts as the *enriched*, *enlarged*, and *extended* codicological unit. Another practical aspect of this is covered by Erik Kwakkel’s concept *usage unit* (*gebruikseenheid*), or what Gumbert designates as *file*.<sup>66</sup>

But let us consider the definition of *miscellany* further (apart from it being monomerous or composite, and apart from establishing possible usage units). As for the definition of contents, the wording “containing various texts” is rather vague. What about the book containing various texts by the same author? Often it is referred to as *corpus*. I prefer to restrict the use of “corpus” to denominate an author’s total production. So the book containing various texts by the same author can in my opinion still be a miscellany provided that there is a “mixture” or “assortment” in some other way, for example in thematics, subject matter, or genre.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s. v.: “A mixture, medley, or assortment; (a collection of) miscellaneous objects or items [...]. A book, volume, or literary production containing miscellaneous pieces on various subjects.”

<sup>66</sup> KWAKKEL 2002, 13–15; GUMBERT 2004, 34. I interpret Kwakkel’s *productie-eenheid* as more or less equivalent to codicological unit. But I prefer Kwakkel’s term “usage unit” over Gumbert’s “file,” since it is more immediately transparent.

<sup>67</sup> Crisci suggests that we call this an author’s miscellany, “una miscellanea, per così dire, d’autore” (CRISCI 2004, 109, note 1). Cf. also Filippo Ronconi, who in his typology of the *miscellaneo disorganico* stipulates that it comprises “testi eterogenei, oltre che per autore, per

As for anthologies of excerpts or citations: when the form is unitary and the collection can be perceived as creating a new whole of similar extracts, then I would prefer using the widely accepted terms *florilegium*, *anthology* et cetera. In one way they are multitext books, but in another they may be seen as something new and “unitary”—a single-text work which gets its own transmission as a whole. If, on the other hand, the excerpts are varying in form and length, in genre and subject matter, and the collection does not seem to create a new unity, a new “work,” then it is in my view a miscellany, regardless of whether the texts are complete or not.

This distinction is also valid for other multitext books: a *tetraevangelion* contains four texts by different authors, but in text transmission they most often stay together as a whole. I would not treat the New Testament or the Bible as a miscellany, despite the fact that they actually do adhere to the basic definition: they contain various texts by different authors and in different genres. This has to do with tradition and transmission history. On the other hand, if a book contains a choice of texts from the Bible in addition to some assorted apocryphal texts the definition is less straightforward. The “whole” is not present anymore, a new “collection” of miscellaneous pieces has been created. To sum up: some kind of heterogeneity in its contents is needed for a book to be called a miscellany, and the texts which are gathered should normally have a tradition of being transmitted separately, outside of this collection. Of course, rare texts might not be found at all in other contexts, but that would be an exception to the overall rule.

It has further been proposed that we distinguish between *organized/organic* and *disorganic* miscellanies, according to the possibility for us to perceive an organizational principle behind the choice of texts. In Muzerelle’s *Vocabulaire* a distinction is made between the *recueil organisé*, an assemblage of which we can make sense, where the combination of texts corresponds to an intention, and the other extreme, the *recueil factice*, where the combination of different “pièces” has been made seemingly in an arbitrary fashion and purely for the practical needs of conservation in a library.<sup>68</sup> In-between these extremes there will always be cases where one cannot make out what the possible intention once was, whether units were combined for practical, economical, or intellectual reasons. Here it is once again important to beware of falling into the trap of mixing structure with contents. A composite consisting of two or more distinct codicological units, can be very well organized textwise, so that the purpose which underlay the collection is evident for all, while a monomeric codex may look as if it has been created by a mere toss-up. To estimate the level of coherence one must in each case be prepared to dig deeper, analyzing both the texts and the physical structure of the book to see how these aspects come together. What we really need, in

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tema e/o genere” (RONCONI 2004, 146).

<sup>68</sup> See MUZERELLE 1985, § 431.10 and § 431.16.

order to reach a comprehensive view of what “coherence expectancy” people may have had on their multitext books, is to undertake more thorough investigations of miscellaneous codices, without taking a premature stance on their (possible lack of) organization. Fusion need not always mean confusion.

I also wonder if it is reasonable to treat a composite bound in the twelfth century differently from one bound in the sixteenth. Is it just the modern librarian who gets dismissed for making an “arbitrary combination,” even though the twelfth-century librarian or book owner could have made a similar decision?<sup>69</sup> Is it not true that the personal miscellany, the *Hausbuch* or *zibaldone*, is—among other things—a gathering of texts for precisely practical reasons of “conservation”?<sup>70</sup> Certainly, we should try to establish when and how a composite was made, since this provides information on how the texts were transmitted together and in what form the book was available to readers at different stages. But we must keep in mind that there are many reasons why texts become situated together. A book is, after all, a practical object, a container which is meant to be used. And the (in our eyes) less rational text combination may have worked just fine for the readers at the time. As Lynn Thorndike puts it: “strict unity in subject-matter is by no means always observed. Or at least what seem to us anomalies and inconsistencies creep in, but they should perhaps warn and inform us of a different mental outlook then.”<sup>71</sup> Well organized or not, the miscellanies still have a story to tell us.

To conclude, let me give a short recapitulation of my own definitions in this area. I use the term *multitext books* to describe the whole field of books that are not monographs, that is, they contain at least two separate texts, but more often several or even a large number of texts.<sup>72</sup> In its physical structure a book can be homogeneous or not. The homogeneous, *monomeric* book

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<sup>69</sup> Hanna calls these postmedieval constellations “binding accidents” (HANNA 1996, 22 and 285, note 3).

<sup>70</sup> *Hausbuch* refers to a book containing a person’s own correspondence and literary undertakings, often in addition to selected readings from other authors, usually a manuscript created over an extended period of time. A well-known instance is John Chortasmenos’ autograph manuscript, *Vindob. Suppl. gr. 75* (HUNGER 1969, esp. 54–63). On the term *Hausbuch*, see also HUNGER 1989, 74f.

<sup>71</sup> THORNDIKE 1946, 98–99.

<sup>72</sup> J. P. Gumbert refers this term to Jan Willem Klein (GUMBERT 1999, 28, n. 1). But it seems that Klein uses the term *meerteksthandschrift* more or less as an equivalent to *verzamelhandschrift*, that is, referring to the book which is made at one sweep and not put together from different components or on different occasions. A short text written as a separate quire is in Klein’s terminology called a *libellus*: “Meerdere van zulke *libelli* kunnen verzameld zijn in een *convoluut* [...]. Maar ook kunnen meerdere *libelli* gekopieerd worden tot een ‘meerteksthandschrift’ of verzamelhandschrift [...]. Niet alleen ‘enkeltekst-handschriften’, maar ook verschillende ‘meertekst-handschriften’ kunnen tot een *convoluut* worden samengebonden” (KLEIN 1995, 26). This means that my usage of the term *multitext book* does not correspond completely with Klein’s, since I let it cover both *versamelhandschriften* and *convoluten* and all the variants in-between these.

## 2 *Composite Books and Miscellanies*

consists of only one codicological unit, i.e. it was made at one go, so to speak. The heterogeneous, *composite* book has a multiple genesis, i.e. it consists of at least two codicological units. The texts may be related in content or not; in the latter case I use the term *miscellany*. Note that this does not imply any statement on the codicological structure: the *miscellany* can be a structurally homogeneous or heterogeneous book, the fundamental element is that it contains texts of various (miscellaneous) contents.



## BRINGING OUT THE STRUCTURE



### 3 Codicological Description and Analysis

In this chapter I present a thorough codicological analysis of *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus* 8. Firstly, I examine those aspects of *Gr* 8 which apply to more than one unit, e.g. the book block, the binding, and the scribes. Secondly, I discuss what criteria may help us to distinguish the boundaries between different codicological units. Establishing these is indispensable in the case of composite codices, since we will otherwise risk drawing conclusions based on—and accurate for—only one part of a book but invalid for another part of the same book. Then the units are dealt with separately by way of brief and rather formalized descriptions and analyses when such are called for. The focus of analysis differs from unit to unit according to the various problems involved. A short discussion ends the chapter. As an auxiliary there is a codicological table which gives an outline of all units in the codex. This is found in Appendix 2 at the end of this book.

#### General aspects of the codex

##### Provenance and further vicissitudes

In a catalog description of a manuscript there are usually some notes on the provenance and history of the manuscript. One could argue that this belongs to book history at large rather than to a codicological description. The evidence, though, will often be what one is able to find out by scrutinizing the codex itself: we may, for instance, be able to trace the origin of a book by the quality and watermarks of the paper, by identifying a scribe or scriptorium—if we are lucky, the scribe might even have left an explicit subscription—and the book's further destinies can be unveiled by owners' notes, or remaining library shelf-marks. Sometimes external evidence, like inventories and letters, may add further details to the overall picture.<sup>1</sup> As a general pres-

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<sup>1</sup> The *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*, for example, recommends that one include under the caption "History" information about "Schreiber, Herkunftsort, Entstehungszeit, Auftraggeber, Leservermerke, örtlich bestimmbare oder sprachlich vom Text der Handschrift abweichende Glossen mit Zeitangabe; Besitz- und Kaufeinträge, Exlibris, Wappen, Stempel von Vorbesitzern; Nennung in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen; alte Ausleihvermerke; alte Signaturen" (*Richtlinien* 1992, 11).

entation of *Gr 8* has already been given in Chapter 1, I will be brief on the history of the codex here, trying to keep to what is strictly observable.

#### Library shelf-marks

The earlier shelf-marks from different library arrangements are known to us partly from *Gr 8* itself: on the spine, there is a number “49” indicating its former incorporation in the Sparwenfeld donation to the University Library at Uppsala. On the fore edge one may with difficulty discern another number, “16,” which remains from the manuscript’s stay in the library at El Escorial. The old library catalogs of El Escorial give further clues: in addition to the placing as “olim Escorialensis A-VI-16,” yet another label, “olim Escorialensis Θ-VI-19,” shows that the shelves were reorganized at some point and that this affected our manuscript as well.<sup>2</sup> That these two shelf-marks should refer instead to two different manuscripts with the very same contents is unlikely. No such duplicate manuscript has been reported as belonging to El Escorial.

#### Watermarks

Apart from what the library catalogs tell us, we have only the evidence of the codex itself, its material, its outer appearance, its texts and the notes that have been added. There is no colophon in it, and we must thus find other means to date the manuscript. One way is to compare the watermarks with similar designs in dated collections.<sup>3</sup> The basis for this is that the molds for manufacturing paper were replaced regularly as they were worn out. Accuracy in dating watermarks is based on the matching of paper sheets produced from the very same mold, and the odds are better if the patterns from both molds (twins) are represented in the manuscript.<sup>4</sup> At best, one may expect a dating accuracy of  $\pm 4$ –5 years in relation to an identical match in the repertory.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> In El Escorial there are several older library catalogs which mention the contents of what was to become *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*: two of them, Esc. X.I.16 and X.I. 18, are in Nicholas de la Torre’s hand. David Colville’s handwritten catalogs from the early 17<sup>th</sup> c., extant in Esc. K.I.18 and K.I.20, are the last to record *Gr 8*, since later cataloging work was carried out after the fire in 1671, when our book had already disappeared from El Escorial.

<sup>3</sup> Repertories of dated watermarks are, for example, the ones produced by BRIQUET 1968 (Br.), HARLFINGER & HARLFINGER 1974–80 (Ha.) and PICCARD 1961 (Pi.).

<sup>4</sup> The work in the paper mill was organized so that molds were always used in pairs—while one mold was emptied the other one was dipped into the vat and vice versa. This pair of molds used to carry very similar but not quite identical wire figures, which is why we speak of “twin watermarks.”

<sup>5</sup> The estimate mentioned counts only for common-size paper, where the molds were normally worn out in one or two years; molds for very large formats were probably not in everyday use, and could thus last for many years. One must also keep in mind that a scribe could have had a sheaf of paper stashed away for a while. A dating with the help of watermarks is thus more of

In the case of *Gr 8* we are lucky to have such a match with a dated manuscript, and this for a watermark which is present with both its twin appearances in not only one but several codicological units of *Gr 8* (Ha. Boeuf 51, left and right, in *Parisinus gr.* 2938). The date in the colophon of the Paris manuscript is 1481, 20 September, the scribe there being Antonios Damilas. One might add that Ha. Boeuf 52 (*Parisinus gr.* 2097) is also very similar. This watermark is attested in a manuscript from Kydonia/Crete, 15 August 1484; scribe Michael Souliardos. It has been suggested that watermarks be used as a means to arrange manuscripts according to scriptoria or workshops. This may also help in identifying scribal hands. Identical paper forms and watermarks may, in addition to palaeographical and other evidence in the manuscripts, indicate a similar provenance when it comes to time of origin and workshop.<sup>6</sup> This course of action could contribute to the reconstruction of cultural connections otherwise not easily detected. As we have little to go on when it comes to establishing the exact geographical provenance of *Gr 8*, it is an important piece of information that Antonios Damilas' scribal activity took place on Crete.<sup>7</sup> He held the post of notary in Candia, the main city of Crete (today's Iraklio), and had connections also with the workshop of Michael Apostoles.<sup>8</sup> Dated manuscripts in Damilas' hand range from 1466 to 1491.

Another watermark which appears in *Gr 8*, though only on a couple of leaves, is similar to Ha. Balance 41. Normally one would need a larger proportion of leaves carrying the same twin watermarks and not just stray appearances, in order for them to be significant for dating. But in this case it is still of interest since the *Codex Parisinus graecus 3045*, in which the watermark has been identified, is copied by the same scribe who wrote most of the texts in *Gr 8*, Theodoros; I will return to this Paris manuscript in the discussion on him, below. If we could convey further connections between Theodoros and other scribes who have used the same kind of paper, or even who have worked on the same manuscripts as Theodoros, it might be possible to establish with more accuracy the milieu where *Gr 8* saw its origin. For the time being, this can be considered wishful thinking: there is just not enough evidence to follow up on. But as more scribes are identified in codicologi-

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an approximate "post-quem" indicator, helpful when used with prudence. On dating with the help of watermarks, see further HARLFINGER 1980; VAN DER HORST 1989.

<sup>6</sup> HARLFINGER & HARLFINGER 1971, 32. Cf. Ralph Hanna's wholesome reminder that stemmatic diagrams illustrate tangible historical processes; the groupings of manuscripts in a stemma indicate lines of actual communication, of physical contact between book producers and model manuscripts. Thus one may in the stemmata find evidence of material literary communities (HANNA 1996, 10). What Hanna does with the help of texts is expandable to codicological similarities: the advantage is that one may find links to these cultural networks also when the scribes copied different works.

<sup>7</sup> *Repertorium* I, 22.

<sup>8</sup> On Michael Apostoles, see GEANAKOPOLOS 1962, 73–110, and *Repertorium* I, 278; for information on his workshop, see also WITTEK 1953.

cal/palaeographical research, and further treasures from fifteenth-century paper mills are systematically investigated, there may arise opportunities to pick up this clue later on. As for other watermarks in *Gr 8*, I will comment on these in the descriptions of codicological units below.

## Book block and binding

The original book block of *Gr 8* encompasses 342 leaves, all Western paper of different types and watermark impression, in 8<sup>o</sup> format. In connection with the last binding, upper and lower endleaves were added to protect the book block, in each place a binion from which one leaf has been pasted down onto the inner surface of the cover (= iii + 342 + iii' folios; 135 x 90 mm). The flyleaves carry watermarks, the identification of which still remains: on the third upper flyleaf, f. iii, and the first lower flyleaf, f. i', we can see the letter "B" and possibly a heart encircled by one large and one small circle respectively. On ff. ii'–iii' there is an escutcheon watermark. These kinds of watermarks, with letters and/or figurines encircled by two or three circles on top of each other, seem to be quite common in Spanish seventeenth-century manuscripts.<sup>9</sup>

The volume is sewn on three leather thongs, its headbands being oversewn with hemp cord. The edges are gilt, and the front edge is decorated by means of a punched *Eierstab*. On the fore edge the letters INΔIKA may with some difficulty be read, and also the number "16" (originating from the Escorialensis shelf-mark, A-VI-16). The cover is made out of limp yellowish vellum of a kind not uncommon for Spanish bookbindings.<sup>10</sup> This is in sharp contrast to the usually quite elaborate covers of Escorial manuscripts.<sup>11</sup> Therefore it seems probable that the manuscript was rebound at some point after its disappearance from El Escorial in 1671, the year of the great fire. I am thus inclined to date the binding to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, which would also be in accord with the type of watermarks that we can see on the endleaves of the manuscript.<sup>12</sup> On the outer edges of the cover

<sup>9</sup> A number of parallels are provided by HEAWOOD 1950, especially among the figures designated "Circles," Nos. 247–335, and "Coat of arms" with circles, Nos. 724–776. These patterns may indicate that the paper was fabricated at mills in Genoa: "In Genoese papers made for Spain, the watermarks most commonly met with are the *coat of arms of Genoa* and *three moons*, known also as *three O*, as well as *latin cross* in an oval" (JAMES 1997, 53).

<sup>10</sup> The information on Spanish vellum bindings was given to me orally, by Sten G. Lindberg.

<sup>11</sup> "Der typische Escorial-Einband [...] ist gekennzeichnet durch mittel- bis dunkel-, bisweilen auch rotbraunes Leder auf Pappe, seltener auf Holz, mit schlichtem, in Einzelheiten wenig variierendem Blinddruck: ein oder zwei Filetentrahmen meist mit Blattstempeln in den Ecken; in der Mitte der San Lorenzo-Rost, bei einem Teil der Einbände von einer Krone überragt, umgeben von einem Rankenkranz; am vergoldeten Schnitt mitunter eine kleinere oder eine grössere Krone eingraviert" (MORAUX 1976, 144f.).

<sup>12</sup> This is also indicated by the fact that while *codd. Ups. gr. 2* and *5*, both olim Escorialenses, have similar covers and watermarks on added blank folia, they are clearly of different date

are still the remains of two pairs of thin leather tying straps. There are no decorations on the cover, other than the olim shelf-mark, 49, on the upper end of the spine.

## Foliation

In addition to the unnumbered protective leaves (iii + iii'), Roman numerals in pencil have been added to the *pinakes*, ff. I–III; the rest of the codex has a foliation in Arabic numerals in the upper outer corner of recto pages, ff. 1–336. This foliation in ink was made in El Escorial by the scribe Nicholas de la Torre (v. infra), who also gives the corresponding folio number for each entry in his *pinakes*. Some inconsistencies need to be mentioned: f. 12 is followed by ff. 12a and 12b. On f. 6<sup>v</sup> a “6” and on f. 7<sup>r</sup> an “8” have been added in the lower margin; on f. 12a<sup>r</sup>, 12a<sup>v</sup>, and 12b<sup>r</sup> the number “7” has been added, and on f. 12b<sup>v</sup> we once again find a number “8” added.<sup>13</sup> There is one leaf between ff. 34 and 35 numbered 34a by a modern hand. Thus, the total number of leaves is 348.

There are no traces of any original quire numbering (in Byzantium this was the customary way of keeping the leaves in order). However, since the book block has gone through a rather severe trimming at binding or rebinding, we cannot rule out the possibility of quire numbers having been lost in the process.

## Scribes

Disregarding pen trials, notes, and other later additions, the hands of four different scribes may be discerned in *Gr 8*. One of them is responsible for 99% of the writing in *Gr 8*, and since his hand turns up in every codicological unit except the first (which was added to the codex at a later stage), it is appropriate to describe it thoroughly here. The other scribes are briefly presented here, but I will deal with the characteristic features of their hands in the codicological units where they come to the fore (U1, U4, and U15). The scribes are introduced here in consecutive order as they appear in the manuscript.

The scribe of the *pinax* on ff. I–II, has since long been identified as Νικόλαος Τουρριανός, alias **Nicholas de la Torre**.<sup>14</sup> The ensuing two pages

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and provenance. All six codices which Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld purchased in Spain have matching vellum covers in the same design (*Ups. graeci* 2–3, 5–8).

<sup>13</sup> This rather complex quire (Q3) is presented in more detail in the discussion of unit 2 (U2) below.

<sup>14</sup> GRAUX & MARTIN 1889, 34. For my presentation of Nicholas de la Torre, I rely mainly on Gregorio de Andrés' comprehensive biography from 1969. Andrés includes several illustrations with Torre's hand; see further *Repertorium* I, 319, and GRAUX & MARTIN 1891, plate XVII, No. 59.

were inaccessible heretofore, the leaves being glued together, but it is now clear that they carry an earlier draft by the same scribe. I may add that the foliation and one or two headings seem to be Nicholas' additions too (e.g. on f. 200<sup>r</sup>). Nicholas de la Torre, was born on Crete—in Candia, Gregorio de Andrés conjectures—around 1535–40, moved from Crete to Padua/Venice in 1559, where he came to work together with Andreas Darmarios, among others. In 1564 Nicholas was commissioned by the bishop of Salamanca (and later Segovia) Diego de Covarrubias y Leiva to copy some Greek books for him, books which belonged to different Spanish humanists, one of them Diego Hurtado de Mendoza. Accepting the assignment Nicholas moved to Segovia, where he also met Ana Sanchez who became his wife. During the years that followed he moved around finding patrons now in Paris, now in Venice, and then eventually found his way back to Spain, where in 1569 he had the position as university scribe in Salamanca.

In these years Philip II spared no efforts in founding and furnishing his library in El Escorial with rare books collected from all over Europe. He soon realized that he would need a skilful Greek calligrapher who could create copies of important works and transcribe the illegible or defective ones into more usable books. In addition, the scribe must be well versed in Greek literature, to be able to compose indices to all the Escorial manuscripts. The choice fell on Nicholas de la Torre who took up his new post as βασιλικὸς ἀντίγραφος, or royal secretary, in March 1573. As for his work on the indices and catalogs in El Escorial, we will come back to this in the discussion of codicological unit 1, below.

Apart from the *pinakes* that were added at El Escorial, there is one scribe, who dominates all other units of *Gr 8*. Sofia Torallas Tovar proposed that his script looks very much like Nicholas Sagundino's (*Repertorium* I, 316).<sup>15</sup> I am not inclined to agree, considering the differences in both the details and the overall appearance. But in addition Torallas Tovar puts forward another hand for comparison, of one "Theodoros," whom we can find in *Repertorium* II, 176. To my mind, we have ample reason to believe that this **Theodoros** is the actual scribe of all but a few pages of *Gr 8*. I have favorably compared the handwriting in *Gr 8* with a microfilm copy of *Codex Parisinus graecus 3045*, which is where we meet with the scribe Theodoros' own colophon. On f. 172<sup>r</sup> it reads:

+ ἐτελειώθη ἡ παροῦσα βίβλος ἐν μηνὶ ἰαννουαρίῳ κδ' ἡδ(ικτιῶν)ος ς  
διὰ χειρὸς κάμοῦ θεοδώρου κυ...κου ἐν ἔτει ,ξ'λϞς'

On the second line of the colophon the ink is somewhat smeared; thence the loss of the second segment of Theodoros' name. A name which would fit with the short lacuna might be "Κυζίκου," i.e., Theodoros from Kyzikos, a

<sup>15</sup> TORALLAS TOVAR 1994, 225.



city on the southern side of the Sea of Marmara, but this remains an assumption until we meet with further evidence.<sup>16</sup> With a place-name in the genitive, one would perhaps also expect a title of office here, as in “bishop of (Kyzikos).” Another possibility would be to surmise Theodoros’ father’s name here; a name that would fit the lacuna would, for instance, be Kyrikos (Θεόδωρος Κυρίκου – Theodoros, son of K.). The *Anno Mundi* 6996 above equals 1488 CE. Another date, 1486 CE, is given on f. 5<sup>r</sup> in the Paris manuscript:

ἐν ἔτει ςλϞδ' ἰνδ(ικτιῶν)ος δ' ἐν μηνὶ ἰουνίου ζ

Apparently the Paris manuscript is also a composite one, worked out over time. It contains on ff. 1–3 (written in another hand than Theodoros’) what is said to be letters by Zonaras, but are actually the collected κεφάλαια, or survey of chapters, of the work *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς* by Michael Glykas.<sup>17</sup> F. 4 is blank, and the date on the following leaf was added by Theodoros. Then, anew, on f. 6 Theodoros has started out with the full text of Michael Glykas’ work (though still going under the name of Zonaras). The text ends on f. 172<sup>r</sup>, where it is followed by the aforementioned colophon with Theodoros’ name in it. Theodoros is the scribe responsible also for ff. 173<sup>r</sup>–192<sup>r</sup>, this time presenting a mathematical treatise.

One more manuscript is supposed to be in Theodoros’ handwriting, the *Sinaiticus Graecus* 1677 from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Si-

<sup>16</sup> Marie Vogel’s and Victor Gardthausen’s note on this scribe is totally misleading: they seem to have confused this fifteenth-century scribe—who copied *Par.* 3045—with Theodoros Skoutariotes who was metropolitan of Kyzikos in the 1270s (VOGEL&GARDTHAUSEN 1909, 138, n. 8). Also Karl Krumbacher has written oddly about a Theodoros, bishop of Kyzikos, and his contribution to *Cod. Marc. gr.* 407 and to *Cod. Athous* 3758, as if this person might be another than the Skoutariotes who once owned the *Cod. Marc.* 407 (KRUMBACHER 1897, 390). As August Heisenberg claimed that the author of the so-called *Synopsis Sathas* in the Marcianus manuscript would be Theodoros Skoutariotes himself, Herbert Hunger concluded that “<h>iemit fällt auch die von Krumbacher (390) behandelte Chronik eines ‘Theodoros, Bischofs von Kyzikos’ weg, da der Cod. Athous 3758 die Synopsis Sathas enthält” (HUNGER 1978, I 477; cf. HEISENBERG 1901, 5–16). Though Alexander Kazhdan has questioned this attribution (*ODB*, s.v. Skoutariotes), Ruth Macrides seems to keep to the hypothesis (2003, 64, n. 11, and 69f.). However we choose to solve the question of authorship of the *Synopsis Sathas*, it is still imperative that we sort out Theodoros, the fifteenth-century scribe of the manuscripts *Gr* 8, *Par.* 3045, and *Sinait.* 1677, from these discussions.

There is also another person known under the name “Theodoros of Kyzikos,” who was bishop there in the 10<sup>th</sup> c. and is known as an epistolographer (*ODB*, s.v. Theodore of Kyzikos): of course, he is to be kept out of this discussion just as adamantly.

<sup>17</sup> This work is either referred to as a collection of didactic letters from Michael Glykas to various addressees within clergy and government, or as a theological treatise, “95 Lyseis zu Aporien der Hl. Schrift,” as Hunger puts it (HUNGER 1978, I 235). In Sophronios Eustratiades’ edition the “Θεολογικά κεφάλαια τοῦ Γλυκά” are reproduced in vol. 1, pp. μα’–νβ’.

nai.<sup>18</sup> This codex contains Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (ff. 1–74<sup>v</sup>) with concomitant commentaries (ff. 79<sup>r</sup>–244<sup>r</sup> *Anonymi Comm. in Rhet.*; ff. 244<sup>r</sup>–247<sup>v</sup> *Fragm. Comm. in Rhet.*; ff. 250<sup>r</sup>–283<sup>r</sup> *Stephani Comm. in Rhet.*).<sup>19</sup> As I have not examined this manuscript myself, I rely on Diether R. Reinsch's inspection of it for the Aristotle Archive in Berlin. He notes that some corrections and lemmata have been added by another, contemporary hand (ff. I, II<sup>v</sup>, 75–78<sup>v</sup>, 248–249<sup>v</sup>, 283<sup>v</sup>–305, I'–II').<sup>20</sup> So far, only one more scribe has been identified in manuscripts which, according to the stemma, belong to the same family as *Sinaiticus* 1677: Michael Souliardos copied the *Rhetorica* of *Vaticanus Graecus* 1326.<sup>21</sup> In trying to reconstruct a cultural network around Theodoros, this might be another clue to which persons may have belonged there. As I mentioned above, the scribe Michael Souliardos also turns up in the discussion of watermarks used by Theodoros. Possibly one could get further illumination on scribal networks through this kind of investigation, comparing the transmission of related texts with facts from the physical text carriers, such as watermarks in the manuscripts, identified scribes, contemporary owners, et cetera. To follow up on this is not within the limits of the present study, but I believe it could be a rewarding path to take. That Michael Souliardos worked in Crete<sup>22</sup> is not uninteresting in this connection, if we also consider that Theodoros' manuscript ended up in the Monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai: this monastery had a daughter monastery with the same name in Crete (in Candia/Iraklio), and the contacts between the two communities were close.<sup>23</sup> The monastery school of St. Catherine's in Candia was for a long time the leading Greek educational center on the island.<sup>24</sup> This was the fertile soil where many Cretan scribes started out and were introduced to Greek literary tradition.

The third scribe of *Gr* 8, “**co-scribe A**,” has only contributed a few pages, ff. 104<sup>r</sup>, 107<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>r</sup> and 112<sup>r</sup> (in addition to these also the headline of f. 88<sup>r</sup> and line 6 on f. 106<sup>v</sup>). It has been proposed that these leaves too were copied by Theodoros and that he was only trying out another style, varying his usual

<sup>18</sup> Dieter Harlfinger mentions the scribe Theodoros Ky...kos as responsible for the *Sinaiticus* 1677 in his survey of “Neuidentifizierte Kopisten griechischer Aristoteles-Handschriften der Renaissance” (HARLFINGER 1971, 413).

<sup>19</sup> See further KASSEL 1971, 13 and 56.

<sup>20</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Dr. Diether R. Reinsch, who kindly sent me his codicological notes on this manuscript.

<sup>21</sup> KASSEL 1971, 14; stemma on p. 61.

<sup>22</sup> To reconstruct precisely the whereabouts of Michael Souliardos is difficult, but he seems to have spent the 1470s and 80s mainly in Crete and other parts of Venetian-dominated Greece (Kydonia/Chania, Methone and Nauplion). In the 1490s, he transferred his activities to Italy (cf. *Repertorium* I 286 and II 392).

<sup>23</sup> One may compare with what happened to the Greek books which were donated by the scribe Maximos Margounios to the Monastery of St. Catherine of Candia in Crete: “Of the manuscripts Margounios bequeathed to the monks of Crete, five to seven [...] got to the parent monastery of Mt. Sinai” (GEANAKOPOLOS 1968, 78).

<sup>24</sup> GEANAKOPOLOS 1962, 46.

way of writing.<sup>25</sup> This is unlikely, I think: the differences in letter forms and ligatures between Theodoros' hand and the one responsible for the aforementioned pages are considerable and stable.<sup>26</sup> It is more plausible that Theodoros had a colleague, or perhaps an apprentice, with whom he worked at times. This hypothesis is corroborated by the Paris manuscript, *Parisinus graecus* 3045, where this same scribe has copied not only ff. 1–3, as I mentioned earlier, but also everything from f. 71<sup>r</sup>, line 5, to f. 84<sup>v</sup>: once more he has obviously seconded Theodoros inside the middle of a text.

The fourth scribe of *Gr* 8, “**co-scribe B**,” writes in Latin only. We find his contribution in the bilingual part of the codex, ff. 308–323. The Latin text is accompanied by an interlinear Greek translation in Theodoros' hand, but I hesitate to think Theodoros capable of writing Latin in such a fine Italian humanist hand; I am more inclined to suppose that an indigenous or at least experienced Latin scribe wrote those texts.<sup>27</sup>

## Criteria for discerning codicological units

In the previous chapter I cited Gumbert's definition of a codicological unit as “a discrete number of quires, worked in a single operation and containing a complete text or set of texts” (see p. 44, n. 64). At times there are obvious clues given in a manuscript which inform us that a unit has come to an end: the scribe may have inserted a subscription or a date as to when the particular unit (or even the whole book) was finished. It is vital that the codicologist consider this when, for example, it comes to referring a date to a composite manuscript. If further units follow, there are no guarantees that the subsequent units are from the same time or place. Usually, though, we have to rely on other, less conclusive, criteria than a scribal colophon. Below I have listed such criteria with the help of which we may find out where a codicological unit begins or ends. The reason why “dating or subscription at the end of a text” is not put up as a criterion among the others is that I consider this superior to the rest of the list. Information of that quality would be a clear-cut end note which we need not weigh in relation to other traits. In part the listed criteria correspond with similar suggestions from Pamela Robinson, J. P. Gumbert, and Erik Kwakkel.<sup>28</sup> One or two are my own additions or

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<sup>25</sup> Nigel Wilson, *viva voce*, who on his visit to Uppsala in 1998 briefly inspected the manuscript.

<sup>26</sup> See further the discussion of codicological unit 4, below.

<sup>27</sup> As the Latin hand is present only in codicological unit 15 (U15) in *Gr* 8, I deal with the specifics of it in connection with the presentation of U15, below.

<sup>28</sup> ROBINSON 1980, 47f.: features mentioned correspond to the criteria **A, B, C, D, F, G, H, I, K**, and **M**. In addition she brings up the *catchword* as a criterion, if it runs only within the “booklet” and there is none on the verso of last quire. As Byzantine manuscripts do not usually carry catchwords, I omit this criterion. GUMBERT 1989, 6–7: defines a caesura as a quire boundary “qui est en même temps une limite de texte, de main et/ou de quelque autre aspect

specifications. I believe that by formalizing the procedure, we will have a viable method of investigation, which—with due adjustments for different research materials—other codicologists and manuscript researchers may benefit from using.

The criteria are listed according to where in the unit they are normally observed:

**A** and **B** apply to both first recto and last verso of units.

**C** applies chiefly to the end of a unit, but may also come into question at the beginning of a unit (though for other reasons).

**D – G** apply to the end of a unit.

**H – O** apply to the ensuing unit in relation to the preceding one.

- A** quire boundary and text boundary coincide
- B** external damage: outer leaves soiled or worn
- C** different quire construction
- D** leaf/leaves cut out at the end of a quire
- E** script compressed or distended to make the text fit
- F** space left open after the text end
- G** further text(s) added on an originally blank space at quire end
- H** different dimensions of the leaves (but: often cropped to uniform size by binding)
- I** different set of quire signatures (not relevant in *Gr 8*)
- J** different paper/watermark
- K** different handwriting
- L** different *mise-en-page* (ruling, number of lines,...)

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codicologique” and—transposed into the terms of the criterion list—exemplifies this with **A**, **F**, **I**, **K**, **L**, and also another trait: *different language*). GUMBERT 1995, 61: mentions, in addition to “a change in text,” the following traits: “for instance a change in hand, in watermark, in ruling practice, in quire signatures, in style of decoration, in number of lines”, i.e. **A**, **I**, **J**, **K**, **L**, **M**. Further down, p. 63, he also draws attention to “short and imperfect” quires and blank pages, i.e. **C** and **D**, and also to *a dating at the end of a text*. KWAKKEL 2002, 13f.: the main indicator of a production unit is said to be the *catchword*, or rather, the lack of one (but this criterion is more relevant for those working with manuscripts outside the Byzantine tradition). Criteria corresponding to **C**, **K**, and **L** are also brought forward by Kwakkel.

- M** different style of decoration
- N** scribal (prayer) formula added in upper margin of first recto
- O** change in textual contents, genre affinity

From the definition of a codicological unit, it follows that **A** is a *necessary criterion*, although there are instances where this has to be modified: for example when the scribe broke off without finishing his or her text, or when the quire has been interfered with afterwards.<sup>29</sup>

Criterion **B** is a possible help. Not only the condition of the outer leaves is important, but also the distinct traces of water damage, mildew, scorching, which can be seen *throughout* a limited part of the book but not in the neighboring quires.

The criteria **C – G** are often helpful in establishing where the codicological units begin and end, as are **H – I** if the traces have not been trimmed away at later binding.

For **J – N** one has to bear in mind that these changes, or instances, may appear also *within* codicological units and some even within quires. It is the *accretion* of criteria which makes the unit delimitation plausible, and *always* with criterion **A** present. As with **H – I**, traces from criterion **N** may also have disappeared through trimming of the leaves.

Finally, **O**: This criterion is not purely codicological, since it has to do with the textual contents of the book. Even if it is not as decisive as some of the aforementioned, I believe it can still defend its place if combined with the others. It is difficult to decide on textual affinity now, centuries later, when we do not even know why someone decided to gather the particular texts present in a miscellany. But, if the book in general seems sensibly organized and there is a definite change in type of texts, this might be worth looking into.

To sum up, by gathering information on how the quires and leaves of a book have been produced, adjusted, filled with texts, damaged (and in some cases even lost), we are able to outline the extension and scope of the codicological units, i.e., the essential building blocks or modules of the book. The criteria listed above are meant as a help in this work process. It is never enough just to tick the demarcation traits off from a list; they must be weighed and assessed in an open but slightly skeptical spirit, since the body of evidence does not always point unanimously in one direction. In uncertain situations it is often wiser to divide assumed units rather than to bring them together. That way we are not tempted to draw conclusions from one part to

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<sup>29</sup> In these instances—exceptions to the rule—Gumbert refers to the units as being defective or extended. See further GUMBERT 2004, 30–33.

another; instead we are forced to give attention to each part on its own terms.<sup>30</sup>

## Codicological unit 1 (U1) – the pinax

**Quires:** Q1, a binion from which the first leaf has been cut out. Roman numerals in pencil for ff. I–III.

**Paper:** Western paper of good quality, present solely in this unit; no watermark visible.

**Justification:** Irregular, leaving little marginal space; writing area ca. 120 x 75 mm; 19 lines per page on f. I<sup>r-v</sup>, 14 lines on f. II<sup>r</sup>, 21 lines on f. II<sup>v</sup>, 5 lines on f. III<sup>r</sup>.

**Scribe:** Nicholas de la Torre.

**Texts:** Nos. 1–2. *Pinakes*, i.e. tables of contents, for the whole book.

**Decoration:** Entries in black ink with plain red initials. Small black wisps with a dot mark the end of some items, a larger one of the same design in red on f. II<sup>r</sup>. Also on f. II<sup>r</sup> a floriate ornament in red.

**Condition:** From the upper margin of f. I a thin strip of paper has been cut away. The last two leaves of the binion, which used to be glued together, have been separated; residues of glue remain.

**Unit demarcation traits:** **A** – quire boundary and text boundary coincide both initially and at the end of the unit; **C** – the number of leaves in the quire (binion) differs from the more common quaternion, which, as we will see from the other units, dominates the rest of the manuscript.

## Nicholas de la Torre's contribution to *Gr 8*

The first unit of *Gr 8* is a single binion which was added to the book after its arrival at El Escorial in 1576. Nicholas de la Torre initiated his cataloging work at the library in the very same year, and from the fact that our codex is mentioned already in Torre's first catalog one may assume that the pinakes were added within a year or so.<sup>31</sup> As Gregorio de Andrés shows in his presentation of the extant correspondence between Nicholas and his superiors, this task of producing indices to all the manuscripts was not Nicholas de la Torre's favorite choice.<sup>32</sup> He had attained permission from the king to stay in Segovia for a year on account of his wife's infirmity, and was continuously working at distance, copying the works that were sent to him from El Esco-

<sup>30</sup> An example of a problematic unit boundary is discussed in unit 11, below.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. ANDRÉS 1968, 38 (No. 66). The first catalog, *X. I. 17*, was produced by Torre in 1577. The other two, *X. I. 16* and *X. I. 18*, are from 1588 and 1600 (ANDRÉS 1968, 9).

<sup>32</sup> See ANDRÉS 1969, 53–59 and 103–106.

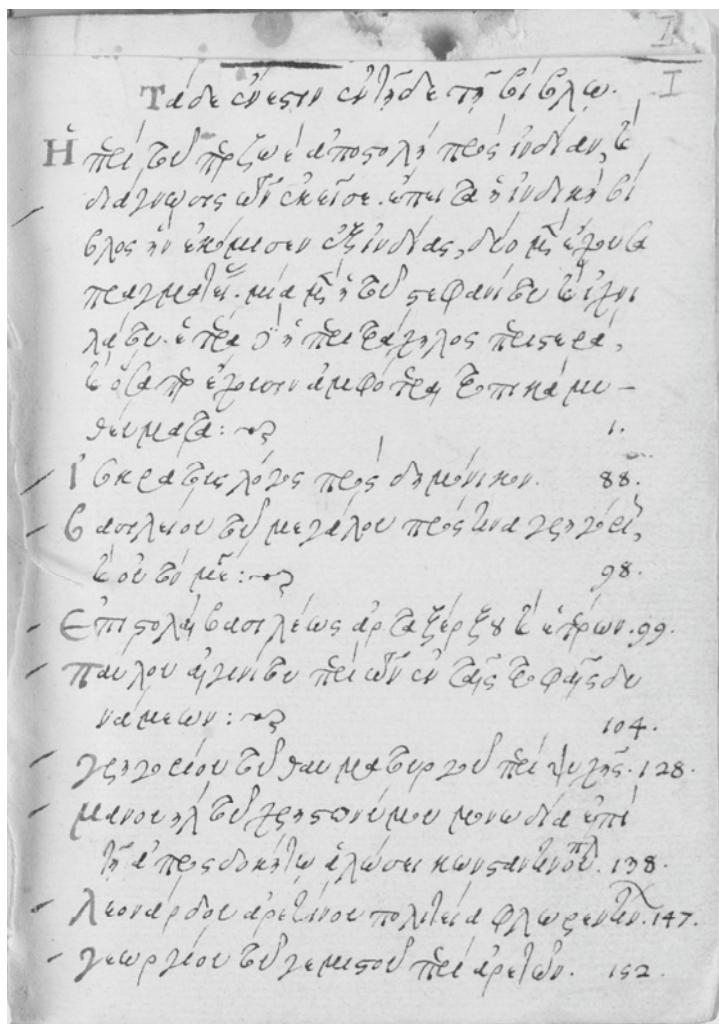
rial. But during his absense the terms were changed. When he returned to the library in early 1576 he found himself no longer receiving 1½ *real* for each sheet (*pliego*), as agreed: now he was down to 1 *real* per sheet. What is worse, since his immediate superior Antonio Gracián had assigned him to create the indices, it now took him more than a day to finish just one sheet, since he had to read through the whole volumes before excerpting the authors and titles for each of them. As his usual rate was four sheet a day, he was used to making six *reales* a day, so the new work duty was obviously an economic drawback.

Finally a solution to the practical matters was found, and Nicholas de la Torre spent much of the year 1576 on cataloging duties for the library. One of the items in the library was the manuscript that we are now engrossed in, *Gr 8*, and as this was devoid of many of its headlines while containing a multitude of texts, it must have been one of Nicholas' less agreeable assignments to catalog it. First he had to identify its contents in detail and prepare the pinax. We will presently turn to the contents of the pinax in *Gr 8*, but first a couple of comments on the physical appearance of the quire. There is no way to tell if something has gone missing on the leaf which was cut out at the front of the binion. If it was blank, the scribe may have cut it out himself, using it for other purposes. Or it may still have been part of the manuscript, holding some information which betrayed its being the property of El Escorial. In that case it is reasonable to suppose that the leaf was removed at the same time as the small paper strip in the upper margin of f. I<sup>r</sup>, because that is the place where El Escorial library shelf-marks generally are inscribed. The excised strip bears witness to an illegal book transaction somewhere along the line.<sup>33</sup>

As appears from the reproduction of the first page of Nicholas' pinax, the script slopes to the right. His hand can be described as a bit turgid with the size of letters varying and the accents prolonged. Conspicuous traits are, for example, the "superscript" *epsilon* in *περ*, *περί*, *ἐτέροι*, etc; the *chi* put at an upright angle, as in *τράχηλος* on f. I<sup>r</sup>; and the *καί*-ligature. *Iota subscriptum* is indicated.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Of the codices Escorialenses purchased by Sparwenfeld at least one, *Codex Ups. gr. 2*, still contains this kind of information on the first folio (at the top of f. I<sup>r</sup> one can read II Θ 20, i.e. the former El Escorial shelf-mark). Consequently, the incision was probably made *not* by Sparwenfeld himself but *before* his purchase; perhaps the vendor was covering up a prior theft.

<sup>34</sup> The style of Nicholas de la Torre's hand was obviously appreciated in his time, considering the distinguished orders he received from patrons in more than one country. Gregorio de Andrés shares the opinion: "Uno de los más diestros calígrafos cretenses de mediados del siglo XVI, comparable por su bella escritura con Angel Vergecio (del cual vino el dicho popular en Francia de «escribir como un angel»), fue Nicolás Turrianos, o de la Torre, una de las más elegantes plumas del Renacimiento" (ANDRÉS 1969, 14).



F. I' (90 % of original size). Scribe: Nicholas de la Torre.

### The selection of entries for the pinax

Not all of the texts in *Gr 8* are put as separate items in the pinax. Here I will briefly discuss the entries in relation to the information which Theodoros gave in connection with the texts themselves, and also touch upon possible reasons for Nicholas de la Torre's selection of items. The motive for this kind of examination is that such details might reveal what parts of a book were considered interesting at a certain time. It could render insights into how different texts were valued, and thus contribute to a "conceptual his-



tory” of Byzantine literature/books.<sup>35</sup> For an overview, I have put the new pinax and the old one side by side in the table, below.<sup>36</sup> It may also be profitable to compare this with the “Codicological table” in Appendix 2, where all the texts in *Gr* 8 are listed and numbered in consecutive order. As for the texts themselves, a more exhaustive discussion will follow in Chapter 4.

Text No.	NEW PINAX, ff. I <sup>r</sup> –II <sup>r</sup> . Leaf numbers are given only in the new pinax	Fol.	OLD PINAX, ff. II <sup>v</sup> and subsequent (unnumbered) page
	(f. I <sup>r</sup> ) Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ·		(f. II <sup>v</sup> ) Τὰ <ὄν>όματα τῶν γραφόντων·
3	Ἡ περὶ τοῦ Περζωῆ ἀποστολὴ πρὸς Ἰνδίαν, καὶ διάγνωσις τῶν ἐκεῖσε. ἔπειτα ἡ Ἰνδικὴ βίβλος ἦν ἐκόμισεν ἐξ Ἰνδίας, δύο μὲν ἔχουσα πραγματείας· μία μὲν ἡ τοῦ Στεφανίτου καὶ Ἰχνιλάτου, ἑτέρα δὲ ἡ περιτράχηλος περιστερά, καὶ ὅσαπερ ἔχουσιν ἀμφοτέραι τροπικὰ μυθεύματα :~	1.	Ἡ περὶ τοῦ Περζωῆ ἀποστολή, καὶ τὰ λοιπά.
5	Ἰσοκράτους λόγος πρὸς Δημόνικον.	88.	Ἰσοκράτης.
			Πάυλος ὁ Αἰγινίτος :~
7	Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς τινὰ Γρηγόριον καὶ οὐ τὸν μέγαν :~	98.	Βασίλειος.
8	Ἐπιστολαὶ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου καὶ ἑτέρων.	99.	Ἀρταξέρξου βασιλείου καὶ ἑτέρων ἐπιστολαί.
11	Παύλου Αἰγινίτου περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων :~	104.	
16	Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς.	128.	Γρηγόριος ὁ Θαυματουργός.
20	Μανουὴλ τοῦ Χρηστωνύμου μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπροσδοκῆτῳ ἁλώσει Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.	138.	Μανουὴλ ὁ Χρηστωνύμος.
21	Λεονάρδου Ἀρετίνου πολιτεία Φλωρεντίνων	147.	Λεονάρδος ὁ Ἀρετεῖνος.
23	Γεωργίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ περὶ ἀρετῶν	152.	Γεώργιος ὁ Γεμιστός.
24–25	(f. I <sup>r</sup> ) Τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑτέρων ἐπιστολαί	163.	
26	Νικολάου τοῦ Σεκουνδινοῦ ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον.	167.	Νικόλαος ὁ Σεκουνδινός.
27	Λιβανίου μελέτη (ἐπιστολὴ <i>exruxit</i> ) πρὸς ἄλλον γυναῖκα.	173.	Λιβάνιος.
28–29	Χρυσοστόμου λόγος κατὰ Ἡρωδιάδην, καὶ περὶ πονηρῶν γυναικῶν, καὶ ἄλλα τινά.	186.	Χρυσόστομος.
30–31	Μάρκου Ἐφέσου γνῶμαι καὶ ἑτέρων.	191.	Μάρκος ὁ Ἐφέσου.
42	Ἱστορίαι διάφοραι βραχεῖαι.	208.	Ἱστορίαι διάφοραι.
42	Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Λαχανᾶν. αὕτη	217.	Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν

<sup>35</sup> It would also be beneficial to compare this material with some of the pinakes which Nicholas de la Torre has added to *other* El Escorial manuscripts, thus evaluating the scribe’s idiosyncrasies on a larger scale. But this goes beyond the scope of my thesis.

<sup>36</sup> Normal abbreviations in the text have been resolved without comment and names are represented with initial capital letters, for the sake of readability.

	δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ μετέχει τῶν τριῶν εἰδῶν τῆς ῥητορικῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀνειδίζει, τὸ δικανικὸν εἶδος τηρεῖ, ἡ δὲ παραινεῖ, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ πανηγυρικόν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, καὶ ἄλλα τινά.		Λαχανᾶν.
44	Ἡ δεκάλογος	232.	Ἡ δεκάλογος.
45	Βασιλείαι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ μέχρι Κώνσταντος πατρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.	232.	Βασιλείαι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ μέχρι Κώνσταντος πατρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.
48	(f. II') Γνώμαι σοφῶν κατ' ἀλφάβητον.	238.	Γνώμαι σοφῶν.
			Μιχαὴλ ὁ Χωνιάτης.
50	Λεξικὸν ἀνώνυμον κατ' ἀλφάβητον.	247.	Λεξικόν :~
51	Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν ♣ Στίχοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν :~	253.	(next page) Στίχοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν :~
53	Περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνώνυμον, καὶ ἄλλα τινά.	254.	Περὶ ψυχῆς.
			Λέων βασιλεὺς.
62	Πόσα πατριαρχεῖα καὶ μητροπόλεις, καὶ ἄλλα τινά.	281.	Πόσα πατριαρχεῖα καὶ μητροπόλεις.
67–70	Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἑτέρων ἐπιστολαί.	286.	
	ρ :~		
73	Λέοντος βασιλέως ἐξαποστειλάρια :~	302.	
71	Δημηγορία Τίτου νιοῦ Οὐέσπασιανου <sup>37</sup>	297.	
71	Δημηγορία ἑτέρα Ἰωσήπου	298.	
72	Νικηφόρου τοῦ Γρηγορά πρὸς τὸν λογοθέτην παρακλητικὴ περὶ ἀστρονομίας :	299.	

The first item of Nicholas' pinax, Text 3 *Stephanites and Ichneletes*, gets a six-line description, whereas most items are described in just a few words. One could perhaps suspect that this indicates a special interest in this first piece on Nicholas' part. But considering that the *Stephanites* text never had its rubricated headline filled in (f. 1), the explanation is probably that Nicholas simply chose to copy the first paragraph of the text more or less as it stands.

Nicholas de la Torre usually puts the author's name first even if the headline of the text has the words in another order, e.g. Text 5 (Isocrates *Oration* 1), where *Λόγος Ἰσοκράτους πρὸς Δημόνικον* is given on f. 88<sup>r</sup>. The attribution of Text 7 (Gregory of Nazianzos *Ep.* 114) to Basil the Great will be discussed in Chapter 4: suffice it here to notice that Nicholas just copies the headline as Theodoros has it on f. 98<sup>v</sup>. The Hippocrates letters and the Anacharsis ones (Texts 8–9) are treated as one single item in the pinax.

<sup>37</sup> The last three items (equaling Texts 71–72) were written in a different, brownish ink, which has dissolved a bit and discolored the paper. The same goes for the correction of *ἐπιστολὴ* into *μελέτη*, above (Text 27).

From unit 4 the only text selected for the pinax is Text 11, Paul of Aegina's *Medical Compendium*. On the whole it seems that Nicholas tends to ignore the anonymous texts, though not always, as will be seen as we proceed through his pinax. Three texts from unit 5 turn up in the pinax: Texts 16 (Gregory Thaumaturgos), 20 (Manuel Christonymos), and 21 (Leonardo Bruni). These happen to be the three which have the largest floriate initials in the unit.

Plethon's *On Virtues* (Text 23) is put as an item of its own. Then Nicholas takes Plethon's treatise *Reply to Scholarios*, Text 24, and bundles it together with Bessarion's letters to Plethon's sons, to Michael Apostoles, and to Andronikos Kallistos, Text 25. That the treatise is taken for a letter here is understandable: in *Gr 8* the headline says Γεωργίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ πρὸς Γεώργιον τὸν Σχολάριον but only the rhetorical "preface" of this treatise is included. Usually the sender of a letter is put in the nominative while the author of a text is in the genitive, something which Nicholas obviously did not take notice of or think important. After Bessarion's letters the one from Nicholas Sagundino to Andronikos Kallistos stands as an item of its own (Text 26).

Text 27, Libanios' *Declamation 26*, was put up as a letter at first, but the scribe then changed ἐπιστολή to μελέτη. The Chrysostom item (Text 28) ends with the phrase καὶ ἄλλα τινά, which ought to point to the otherwise unknown text introduced with τοῦ αὐτοῦ by Theodoros (f. 189<sup>v</sup>), inc. Διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν (Text 29).

Three items in a row Nicholas defined as works by Mark Eugenikos (while Theodoros calls him "ὁ ἅγιος Μάρκος ὁ Ἐφεσίων," scil. ἐπίσκοπος, Nicholas simply calls him "Μάρκος Ἐφεσος" [*sic*]). The first and third are texts of his (30 *Thoughts* and 41 *On the filioque doctrine*); the middle one, which in the manuscript lacks the rubricated title and author indication, Nicholas put up as "τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λατίνων," but the text is actually a work by Plethon (40 *Plethon Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine*). In-between the Mark Eugenikos' *Thoughts* and Text 40 by Plethon, no less than seven shorter texts (and a small page filler) are passed over in silence.

Another text which in *Gr 8* lacks its headline and author is taken up by Nicholas de la Torre as an anonymous item: *Ἱστορίαι διάφοραι βραχεῖαι* (Text 42). This is actually a selection of passages from John Tzetzes' *Chiliades* or *Book of Histories*, written in fifteen-syllable verse. But the text was apparently not familiar enough to be identified by Nicholas. The short historical or mythical episodes in verse in the *Chiliades* function as a commentary to Tzetzes' own collection of letters addressed to friends and contemporaries as well as to fictitious persons. One such letter, to John Lachanas, is transmitted in *Gr 8* and was itemized separately in the pinax. Nicholas gives a detailed account of its contents (taken from Theodoros' text, f. 217<sup>r</sup>): *Ἐπιστολή πρὸς Ἰωάννην τὸν Λαχανᾶν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολή μετέχει τῶν τριῶν*

εἰδὼν τῆς ῥητορικῆς· ἡ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀνειδίζει, τὸ δικανικὸν εἶδος τηρεῖ, ἡ δὲ παραινεῖ, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν, τὸ πανηγυρικόν, καὶ ἄλλα τινά. This time there was no need for a longer description due to the work having no title (cf. Text 3 *Stephanites*, above). So perhaps this matter actually interested Nicholas; at least he must have thought it worthwhile to be able to find this rhetorical exposition.

That Nicholas chose to mention the Decalogue (Text 44) is more peculiar. One would think that the Ten Commandments should be well known enough to function rather as a page filler. Why pick up this text and not the Prayer to the Theotokos, for example (Text 33)? The fact that the preceding eight leaves were left without a rubricated title and therefore remained unidentified by Nicholas (they contain twenty letters by Theophylact Simokates, Text 43) may have come into play here. One can easily imagine how Nicholas after 16 pages finally finds something he recognizes, and thus, puts that item in the pinax.

The list of kings (Text 45) also lacks its headline. Wishing to have this item in his pinax, the scribe thus had to make up his own characterization: βασιλεῖαι ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ μέχρι Κώνσταντος πατρὸς τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου.

The florilegium on ff. 238–247 (Text 48) was considered interesting enough to put in the pinax, and here as well Nicholas had to supply the text with a title: γνώμαι σοφῶν κατ' ἀλφάβητον. This corresponds with the meaning but not the wording in the upper margin of f. 238, where a reader has added ἀρχὴ τὴν μέλησα κατὰ ἀλφαβητο τὸν φρονιμον ἰ λογι.<sup>38</sup> This text is followed by another anonymous item, a lexicon (Text 50), which Nicholas saw fit to include in his survey.

Text 51, an elegy on the city of Athens by Michael Choniates, Στίχοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, is the only one that Nicholas equips with a floriate decoration: was it the highlight for him perhaps?

On f. 254 yet an anonymous text begins (Text 53). However, Theodoros did spare a line for a rubricated title, so perhaps he knew more about it than we do. Nicholas chose to describe it as Περὶ ψυχῆς ἀνώνυμον, καὶ ἄλλα τινά. After having passed over 24 leaves in silence—despite the fact that one of the texts covers as much as 33 pages (56 Theodoret *Cure of the Pagan Maladies*)—he then includes the listings of patriarchates, metropolises, etc. (Text 62).

At first Nicholas de la Torre appears to have planned to end the pinax with the letters by Basil et al. (Texts 67–70). A rubricated wreath in the middle of the page (looking like a larger elaboration of the small wisp we can see at the end of some lines on f. I) now seems mistakenly put there, with another few text lines crowded around it. The subsequently added item, Λέοντος βασιλείῳ ἐξαποστειλάρια, now surrounds and encrouches on the decoration; this text (Text 73) begins on f. 302. And then, as an afterthought,

<sup>38</sup> I.e.: ἀρχὴ τὴν μέλισσαν κατ' ἀλφάβητον· τῶν φρονιμῶν οἱ λόγοι.

Nicholas refers us to the two excerpts from Josephus, and to Nikephoros Gregoras' letter to the Grand Logothete Metochites, these three texts actually preceding the one attributed to Leo (Texts 71–72). That this was done in a second relay is indicated by the difference in ink. The dye of the four last lines has dissolved and spread into the paper, and due to the acidity of the ink it has eaten away the second letter of the word παρακλητική.

Which texts in *Gr 8* are overlooked by Nicholas de la Torre? Shorter “page fillers” are ignored, as are later additions (like the document on f. 87 and the continuation of Text 65 in the margin of f. 283<sup>v</sup>). Most of the anonymous texts—both shorter and longer—are omitted, but in cases where he can easily deduct the contents from the texts themselves even anonymous ones get represented (Texts 42 histories, 45 kings, 48 florilegium; 50 lexicon; Text 53 on the soul; Text 62 patriarchates). Omitted completely are the bilingual texts in unit 15 (Texts 76–81), the mathematical texts in unit 16 (Texts 84 and 86), as well as the truncated Aesop-text at the end of the book (Text 88).

### The discarded pinax on f. II<sup>v</sup>

If we take the old and discarded pinax as a point of departure, the author-based strategy becomes obvious. In this first step Nicholas de la Torre only wrote down the author for each item, and the few anonymous entries, like *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, are described in just a few words. Starting on the new pinax Nicholas expanded the entries to author + title (and/or short description).

That Nicholas chose to cancel and glue together the old pinax can be explained on account of one mistake being added to another. The first mishap was the text by Paul of Aegina (Text 11) which was not put in proper order (in my numbering of the texts Nicholas' items come in the sequence 2–5–11–7). The next *faux pas* was Michael Choniates' poem (Text 51), which was first put in at the bottom of f. II<sup>v</sup>. Then the lexicon (Text 50) follows as first item on the recto page. After this entry Nicholas unfortunately added the title of Michael Choniates' work, *στίχοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχετύπῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν*, i.e., he had now recorded the same item (Text 51) twice. Eventually he put the list of patriarchates (Text 62) *after* the text attributed to Leo VI (Text 73). This was the point of no return; he had to start anew, giving the book an introduction without these flaws. For the sake of clearness: placing the old (original) pinax at the *end* of the binion was logical. Preferably you put the table of contents as close as possible to the block of texts to which it belongs. This also made it reasonable for Nicholas de la Torre to glue these leaves together, since that way the new and valid pinax got placed right before the rest of the texts.

## Codicological unit 2 (U2), ff. 1–87

**Quires:** Q2: [1–6] ternion. Q3: [7–12, 12a–12b] 1 ternion + 2 leaves which seem to be glued together at the spine and attached to the ternion. The original place for ff. 12a and 12b was in-between what is now numbered folios 6 and 7; by restoration or rebinding the insertion mistakenly ended up at the end of Q3. Q4–11: [13–75] 8 quaternions (f. 34 numbered twice). Q12: [76–83] quaternion. Q13: [84–87] binion.

**Paper:** Western paper of good quality. Q2–11 have the twin watermarks depicting an oxhead with a crown, identical to Ha. Boeuf 51, left and right, (*Parisinus gr.* 2938, dated 1481, 20. Sept.; scribe Antonios Damilas). In Q12 there are no visible watermarks but the somewhat coarser paper quality and wire line pattern correspond with the next quire. In Q13 we see a balance, similar to Ha. Balance 41 (*Parisinus gr.* 3045, dated 1488, 24. Jan.; the scribe is Theodoros, i.e. the very same scribe as in *Gr* 8).

**Justification:** 103 x 65 mm, 18 lines per page (ff. 1–63); 107 x 65 mm, 19 lines (ff. 64–75); 103 x 70/75 mm, 19–20 lines (ff. 76–78); 107 x 70/75 mm, 20–22 lines (ff. 79–83); 115 x 70/75 mm, 22–23 lines (ff. 84–86).

**Scribe:** main scribe, i.e. Theodoros, except for later inserted initials and the last leaf which Theodoros left blank. Good black ink used for ff. 1–75. Brownish ink on ff. 76–86. On f. 87 a subsequent owner of the book has added a private document: the same hand is discernable also elsewhere in *Gr* 8, for example in the marginal notes on f. 283<sup>v</sup>.

**Texts:** Nos. 3–4. *Stephanites and Ichneletes* (ff. 1–86); a document inscribed by a somewhat later hand on a previously blank leaf (f. 87).

**Decoration:** The page layout shows that Theodoros reserved a two-line space for insertion of a rubricated title and perhaps a headpiece on the first page (not fulfilled).<sup>39</sup> Spaces for larger initials in red—some of them set out in the margin, some within the text area—were also left void (or, at times, indicated by the scribe by putting only the spiritus and accent there in the usual black ink and leaving the rest of the initial to be filled in with red ink, e.g. f. 9<sup>v</sup>, 12b<sup>v</sup>), but have later awkwardly, and occasionally wrongly, been filled in with a pale smeary red. On f. 13<sup>v</sup> an initial *omicron*, 3 lines in height, is ornamented in brownish-black and pale red with unfilled, pointed palmettes coarsely executed by what seems to be an untrained hand.

**Condition:** The first two quires are in worse shape than the rest of the unit when it comes to damp and mildew. The first few leaves are also scorched but legibility is not affected. On f. 75<sup>v</sup> the surface is soiled, and the damp stains which are fairly consistent in the leaves up to f. 75, look differ-

<sup>39</sup> Cf. the appearance of the title with a band-shaped headpiece on the first page of U5 (f. 128) and a similar solution in U4 (f. 104). In U3 there is only a one-line title in red and a large ornamented initial (f. 88). In U6, the scribe uses two lines for the rubricated title but decorates it with flowers in the upper margin and at the end of line 2.

ent in the next quires. At the end of U2—most prominently in the last binion where the writing area is extended—the trimming of the leaves has reached into the writing area and cut off part of the uppermost text line.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – a new text is initiated on first recto; **B** – the first few leaves are very worn and darkened; **J** – different paper; **K** – different scribe; **L** – different *mise-en-page*; **M** – different style of decoration; **O** – change in textual contents (obviously, since U1 is a table of contents for the whole book).

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – main text ends on the penultimate leaf of U2; **B** – last verso is darker, more soiled and worn than the preceding leaves; **C** – last quire is a binion; **E** – the script is elegantly compressed towards the end of the *Stephanites* text, the scribe slowly enlarging the writing area one line at a time over several folios so as not to make the change show; **F** – last leaf was originally left blank; **G** – on the formerly blank leaf at the end a new text has been added some 50 years later, in the form of a personal document including a blessing and some pen trials.

## Anomalies in the quire construction

In *Gr 8*, as in the great majority of Byzantine manuscripts, the predominant quire type is the quaternion, composed out of four double-leaves (that is, amounting to 8 folios or 16 pages). This pattern is altered in two places in U2: at the beginning (Q2–3) and in the last quire (Q13), and we will address these instances one at a time. My approach to these irregularities in the manuscript has been the codicologist's, i.e., scrutinizing the structure. In this I also came upon textual problems. But, of course, one may also address these matters from the opposite point of departure, something which is the experience of many editors of medieval manuscript texts. In that case the researcher collates the text, more often than not in a microfilm copy, where codicological details are much more difficult to assess. When he or she comes across problematic textual passages, there may be reason to proceed to the codex itself, or at least consider whether material issues could have influenced what the transmitted passages look like.

## A reconstruction of Q2–Q3

To understand the design of the first two quires of *Stephanites*, Q2–Q3, we need to reconstruct the procedure step by step, as illustrated in the figures A–C below. The scribe starts out with one ternion and one quinion (figure A). This is, as I just said, not common procedure. But let us suppose that he had two quaternions cut and ready, waiting to be inscribed. Somehow they got disarranged and when he put them in order again he happened to put one leaf extra in the second bundle instead of the first. So the scribe writes his text

with the leaves in this order and then goes on using quaternions for the rest of the text.

What happens later on is that the outside bifolia of the quinion meet with wear and tear, and eventually a couple of leaves (ff. x and y) at the end of Q3 may have come loose. They disappear from the book, leaving us with a text lacuna (figure **B**) just before Q4.<sup>40</sup>

No thread can now hold the first two leaves of this quire in place (I have chosen to give them the alternative numbers of “6a” and “6b” here, since this shows their logical placing with regard to the textual contents), so they become loose leaves. By restoration or rebinding these two loose leaves are glued together, so that the stub of one of them is still visible in-between. By mistake, they are now placed at the end of the quire and not between ff. 6 and 7. That is how they got their present foliation as 12a and 12b, which is actually misleading to the reader. These extra numbers were added recently, in pencil, whereas Nicholas de la Torre, on the contrary, deliberately refrained from including them in the consecutive numbering when he was foliating the rest of the manuscript. Stains of damp, which are more pronounced in Q2 *and* on ff. 12a and 12b but fainter in the rest of Q3, reveal that these two leaves kept their original place for a considerable period of time. The numbers added in the lower margin (a number “6” on f. 6<sup>v</sup>, an “8” on ff. 7<sup>r</sup> and 12b<sup>v</sup>, a “7” on ff. 12a<sup>r</sup>, 12a<sup>v</sup>, and 12b<sup>r</sup>) show that the person who did that had figured out the right sequence of the remaining leaves. The Escorial scribe Nicholas de la Torre is probably responsible for those numbers as well, since he obviously did detect the displacement, not foliating the misplaced leaves with the rest (figure **C**).<sup>41</sup>

In its present state *Gr 8* is so tightly bound, that it is not really possible to see whether ff. 12a–12b is sewn in together with the preceeding leaves or whether this new “singulion” has simply been glued on to f. 12. But the explanation suggested above seems to account for what is observable in the manuscript here and now.

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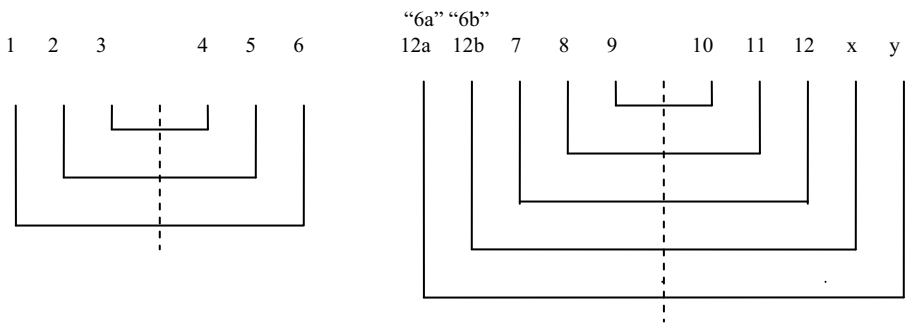
<sup>40</sup> The existence of a lacuna in the text was acknowledged already in the 1780 edition of the *prolegomena* which was carried out on the basis of *Gr 8* (*Prolegomena ad librum 1780*, 42). This dissertation was published as complementary to Sebastian Gottfried Starcke’s 1697 edition which does not include the *prolegomena*. At the Uppsala disputation Pehr Fabian Aurivillius acted as respondent while professor Johannes Floderus was the praeses: either of them may be the one who in fact produced the edition.

<sup>41</sup> The shape of the numbers does not contradict this; it is consistent with Torre’s numbering in the upper margin and in the pinax.

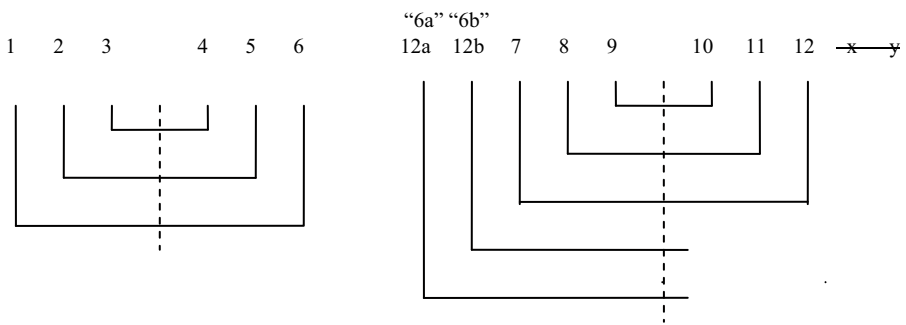


Sketch of Q2 and Q3 (ff. 1–6 and 7–12b):

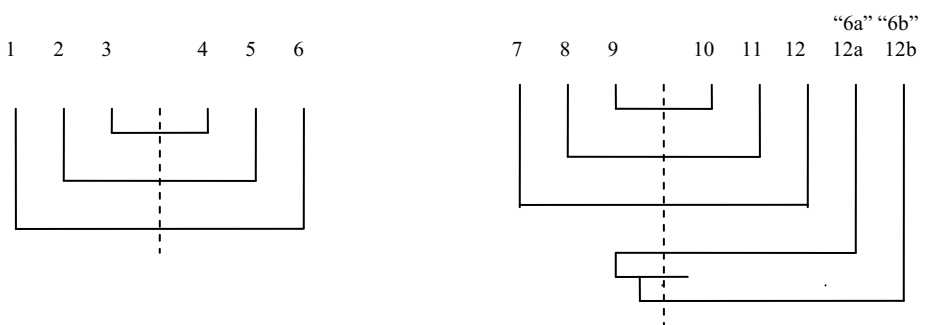
**A**



**B**



**C**



Below are given the incipit and explicit for the textual joints where ff. 12a and 12b, correctly posited, would fit in:

F. 6<sup>v</sup>, expl.: Καὶ πῶς ἐλάλησεν <sup>α</sup> (α above last ε) διὰ στόματος τῶν ἀλό[...

F. 12a<sup>r</sup> (“6a” recto), inc.: ...]γων ζώων καὶ τῶν πετεινῶν καὶ ποιήσαντες αὐτῶν καταλόγων

F. 12b<sup>v</sup> (“6b” verso), expl.: ἀνεγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἀνερμηνεύτως. ἤρξατο δὲ καθέζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν

F. 7<sup>r</sup>, inc.: ἀνθρώπων δοκῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ μεθηθηκέναι <sup>α</sup> (α above first η – the ligature θη could easily be misread as μ, and the expected word is μεμαθηκέναι) τὴν λέξιν καὶ λαλήσας ἔσφαλεν

### The lacuna before f. 13

As for the textual lacuna between f. 12<sup>v</sup> and f. 13<sup>r</sup>, the text goes as follows (the words inside the square brackets are borrowed from Vittorio Puntoni’s edition, *Prolegomenon* III, § VIII, line 22 and § X, line 23):

F. 12<sup>v</sup>, expl.: οὐ δεῖ σαι (sic) ψυχὴν φεύγειν τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ μένειν ἐν τοῖς βιωτ[κοῖς ὅταν...]

F. 13<sup>r</sup>, inc.: [... τὸν δὲ λά]κκον τὸν βίον τοῦτον τὸν πλήρις κακίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ δεινῆς διατριβῆς καὶ ἀπωλείας.

If we compare the text in *Gr 8* with Puntoni’s edition the lacuna amounts to 62 lines of printed text. A comparison of the prolegomena (the introductory chapter, or frame stories, of *Stephanites*) with Puntoni’s printed text shows that, roughly estimated, you need 16–18 lines of his edition to fill a page in *Gr 8*. 62 lines divided by 4 = 15½, so, hypothetically, we could assume that the lacuna amounted to four pages, i.e. two leaves. This would tally well with the sketch we just outlined. But since the textual tradition of *Stephanites* is rather fluid, the assumption can only be preliminary. The open character of this kind of text, with all its short novellae or independent stories, has resulted in an exceedingly variegated textual tradition where different paragraphs, or sub-stories, could be dropped or included at will. As long as these “textual omissions” do not break up stories and make them unintelligible, this could very well be the result of inclusions and eliminations made through the deliberate choice of an editor somewhere along the way, rather than an unintentional loss of leaves or faulty scribal omission. Before asserting any definite size of the lacuna, it may be appropriate, in a case like this,

to compare the text transmitted in other manuscripts, to see whether they unanimously include all paragraphs which have gone missing in *Gr 8*.<sup>42</sup>

As an example of such a variation in the text one may choose the property that made Lars-Olof Sjöberg assign *Gr 8* to “group V” in his survey of the textual tradition of *Stephanites*.<sup>43</sup> According to Sjöberg, the manuscripts of this group (*Par. Suppl. 118*, *Laud. 8*, *Monac. 551* and *Gr 8*, or, with Sjöberg’s *signa*: P2O2M2U) all share the feature of not including Prolegomenon II, 7–8, and the first few paragraphs of Prolegomenon III (III, 1–4a).<sup>44</sup> This omission is not announced in *Gr 8*, except that the next paragraph (III, 4b) was due to begin with a red initial in the middle of line 2 on f. 9<sup>v</sup>. The cross in the margin may point to the scribe’s awareness that this was indeed opening the third prolegomenon. The ink has faded a bit here due to moisture damage, but in the way it is written it closely resembles the cross in the margin of f. 6<sup>v</sup>, and that one is definitely written together with the primary layer. In any case, since the omitted part of the text does not coincide with any page or leaf end in *Gr 8*, there is no reason to think that anything is missing from what Theodoros himself wrote. The omission probably took place earlier in the textual transmission, in some hyparchetype to Sjöberg’s “group V”. The same probably goes for the novellae in chapter III, 5a, 5c, and 6a, which are absent in several manuscripts and not only from *Gr 8*.

The case is different with the lacuna towards the end of Prolegomenon III, where, as we could see above, *Gr 8* breaks off right in the middle of a word, just a couple of lines into a new paragraph. According to our counting above, the two leaves gone missing from *Gr 8* would have contained Prolegomenon III, §§ 9a–b and 10a–b. But the other manuscripts in Sjöberg’s “group V” only include §§ 9a and 10b, *not* §§ 9b–10a. From the place where *Gr 8*

<sup>42</sup> For the origin, development and textual traditions of *Stephanites*, or *Kalilah wa-Dimnah*, as it is called in the Arabic version, see p. 121. Suffice it here to mention two of the versions: the shorter one, recension A in Lars-Olof Sjöberg’s edition, comprises chs. I–VII and part of ch. IX, and was created by Symeon Seth in the late 11<sup>th</sup> c. The longer version, Sjöberg’s recension B, is the work of two translators, who independently added translations of other parts of the Arabic text, parts which Symeon Seth had chosen to abridge or exclude. From the B $\delta$  redaction we get the rest of chapter IX and the addition of chs. X–XI. The B $\epsilon$  redaction filled in the gaps in the text where Symeon Seth had made abridgements, supplied the translation of the frame stories, *Prolegomena*, and most of the remaining text, chs. VIII, X, and XII–XV. The only modern edition, SJÖBERG 1962, is devoted to the A recension of *Stephanites*. For the B recension we still have to rely on Puntoni’s 1889 edition.

<sup>43</sup> Sjöberg’s division of the *Stephanites* manuscripts into several subrecensions has been questioned by Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis. Where Sjöberg saw fit to divide the “B-Fassung” into five subrecensions ( $\delta, \epsilon, \zeta, \theta, \iota$ ; the  $\zeta$  recension is equivalent to what Sjöberg elsewhere designates as “group V” and includes, among other manuscripts, *Gr 8*), Niehoff-Panagiotidis argues that only two of these,  $\delta$  and  $\epsilon$ , are in fact autonomous versions which include new material translated from Arabic. The other three,  $\zeta$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\iota$ , should rather be counted as contaminated versions of the recensions B $\delta$  and B $\epsilon$  (NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS 2003, 39–45).

<sup>44</sup> SJÖBERG 1962, 80–83. Prolegomenon II ends in *Gr 8* with ἔλαβε τὸν χιτῶνα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνεδύσατο τοῦτον, τὸν δὲ σίτον ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν τῷ πίθει. The next sentence in *Gr 8*, from Prolegomenon III, 4b, goes as follows: Λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι κλέπτῃς τις ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τινος δώματος μετὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ συντρόφων.

breaks off to the end of § 9a Puntoni's edition counts 15 lines (i.e. about one page in Theodoros' hand). §§ 9b + 10a occupy 30 lines in Puntoni, while § 10b occupies 18 lines. This means that if *Gr 8* complied fully with P2O2M2 only one leaf would have gone missing. We can compare this with variations in other groups of the manuscript tradition; in Sjöberg's group VI (K2F2E1E3) the passage from §§ 9b–10a is omitted in three of the four manuscripts, while the fourth, contaminated, E3 includes these paragraphs. Another instance of "contamination" or at least of *Gr 8* not corresponding with the group which according to Sjöberg's investigation is most closely related to it may be adduced: in *Stephanites* chapter V *Gr 8* has the paragraph sequence 116a+b, 117, 118a+b+c, while P2O2M2 have these paragraphs transposed into the sequence 116a, 118b+c, 116b, 117, 118a. As Sjöberg puts it: "U folgt in diesem Kapitel der ε-Gruppe."<sup>45</sup> The practical side of the problem is not to be ignored either. If we were to assume that *Gr 8* followed the wording of the rest of the group in Prolegomenon III, we would be forced to explain why the scribe should have suddenly chosen a ternion + a single leaf for this part of his text, instead of using even quaternions as is customary. I consider it far more likely that *Gr 8* did include all the paragraphs the way they stand in Puntoni's edition, thus not corresponding with the wording of P2O2M2.

#### Some reflections around the boundary at f. 76

Between Q11 and Q12 some kind of break or boundary is observable. Being inside a continuous text it is not a boundary between self-sufficient codicological units, but there is still reason to investigate what may have happened here in the fabrication process.

What is there for the eye to perceive? Already a little earlier Theodoros has started to expand the amount of text per page (19 lines to the page on ff. 64–75). The verso of f. 75 is soiled and darkened and the damp stains which are present in previous quires do not extend into Q12. Another kind of paper is used in Q12–13, the ink has a new brownish nuance, and the script is slightly more cursive here. When Theodoros picks up his pen again at f. 76 (or possibly at the last paragraph of f. 75<sup>v</sup>, since already here the appearance of the script changes and becomes somewhat larger and more cursive), he seems to pay attention to the original vertical justification of his *Stephanites*, the way it looks in the first eight or nine quires (up until f. 63), but extends the length of his lines slightly. It seems he is no longer as meticulous with the *mise-en-page*: inside the same writing area he can vary the number of lines. Successively the number of lines per page grows, as does the condensation of text, and also the writing area increases a bit. After these gradual and at first almost imperceptible changes Theodoros chooses a binion as his

<sup>45</sup> SJÖBERG 1962, 76, n. 26.

last quire of U2. The reason is obvious: he did not plan to add further texts after *Stephanites*, but simply wanted to end this unit (or even independent book?) with as little waste of paper as possible. The *Stephanites* text comes to an end exactly on the last line of a verso page: professional work, in short. That one leaf, f. 87<sup>r-v</sup>, was left blank thereafter is not necessarily the result of oversight on the scribe's behalf, since the extra leaf protects the text from attrition.

It is clear that U2 is complete (but for the two leaves in Q3) and yet its execution has been done in two phases, leaving us with a so-called *extended unit*.<sup>46</sup> What explanation could there be for the kind of break in the copying work visible at f. 76? One hypothesis (*a*) could be that the scribe simply ran out of paper. Maybe he was visiting somewhere to copy the work and did not bring enough material with him to finish the text. So he had to return to the library, or whatever place was harboring the model manuscript, on another occasion. Another possible explanation (*b*) could be that he did write a complete text in the first go, but that the last two quires were then ruined or got lost somehow, since the work lay unbound in bundles. That would have forced him to rewrite the end of the text once more.

But there are some complications to consider. If we look at the passage in the *Stephanites* text where Theodoros had arrived when he broke off at f. 75, we find that it is in the story about the King and the Parrot, i.e. chapter IX, § 133b in Puntoni's edition. According to Sjöberg the last passage that the A-recension manuscripts include is the beginning of chapter IX (§§ 132 and 133a). The rest of chapter IX and the following chapters X–XV, were never part of Symeon Seth's translation. § 133b, which includes the Parrot story, is therefore not present in the A-recension. The same paragraph is lacking also in the B $\epsilon$ -recension, with a few exceptions,<sup>47</sup> and about one of the manuscripts of the B $\iota$ -group Sjöberg writes: "In E3 fehlt der §133b bis auf die letzte Zeile dieses Abschnittes."<sup>48</sup> The rest of the B-recension manuscripts include § 133b. It is not unthinkable—this would present us with yet an hypothesis (*c*)—that Theodoros at first had at his disposal a model manuscript which lacked the final chapters of *Stephanites*. Using that model he got as

<sup>46</sup> The terminology for units which have been interfered with in different ways is elaborated by Gumbert (GUMBERT 2004, 30–33). A codicological unit can grow by various means: by enrichment, if a new layer or guest text is added on the original leaves; by enlargement, if a limited number of leaves are added and they "do not fundamentally change the quire structure" (p. 42); by extension, if "a substantial amount of matter – at least one quire – has been added" (loc.cit.). To distinguish between the last two categories (the enlarged and the extended unit) seems to me almost too pedantic. To my mind the quire structure *is* changed when you put in an extra leaf or a couple of leaves somewhere: putting a terminological dividing line at precisely one quire extra seems meaningless and complicated. I would like to suggest that we use the latter term, *extended unit*, for both categories since they still need to be qualitatively explained in each case.

<sup>47</sup> SJÖBERG 1962, 77, n. 31: "P3P4 und A4 enthalten den §133b. In A4 fehlt doch durch Blattausfall der §133b, 17–30."

<sup>48</sup> SJÖBERG 1962, 77, n. 32.

far as the beginning of chapter IX (Q2–11, or ff. 1–75 in *Gr 8*). Then he had to replenish the text with the help of another manuscript offering him the rest of ch. IX and chs. X–XV. That this was done at a later stage (when he had already used up all the paper carrying the “oxhead” watermark) would explain why the leaves of the preceding quires got worn and soiled, waiting unbound on some shelf.

One may also speculate whether the paper used in Q12–13 corresponds to the kind in another manuscript by Theodoros’ hand, *Parisinus 3045* (copied in 1486 and 1488). Because of the octavo-format of *Gr 8* (which splits the watermarks and makes them end up folded at the spine) and the considerable trimming of the leaves, it is difficult to establish whether this one instance of the watermark in Q13 is the exact replica of the Parisian counterpart (Ha. Balance 41; cf. above, p. 53). But it seems very likely from the look of the remainders. If that is so, then we could perhaps infer that there was actually a delay of a few years until the last two quires of *Stephanites* were added to *Gr 8*. That the *Stephanites* text in *Gr 8*, which primarily belongs to the Bζ-group, in some places seems more closely related to the Be-group<sup>49</sup> reveals further the complex and contaminated textual transmission, and might also be taken as an indication that the third hypothesis (c) is reasonable. This is not the place to actually prove this point, since I am not thoroughly investigating the whole manuscript tradition or aiming at an edition. I still think it is fruitful to raise the questions and see where this kind of reasoning may lead us.

## Secondary layers of U2

The *Stephanites* text in *Gr 8* never got as far as being rubricated during Theodoros’ command. No headings were ever inserted and the rather sloppy red initials were added afterwards by someone who used a pale red ink of inferior quality. One may compare the initials of the following units, U3–6, which were undoubtedly supplied by Theodoros himself, and which look qualitatively different both in ink and in style of execution.

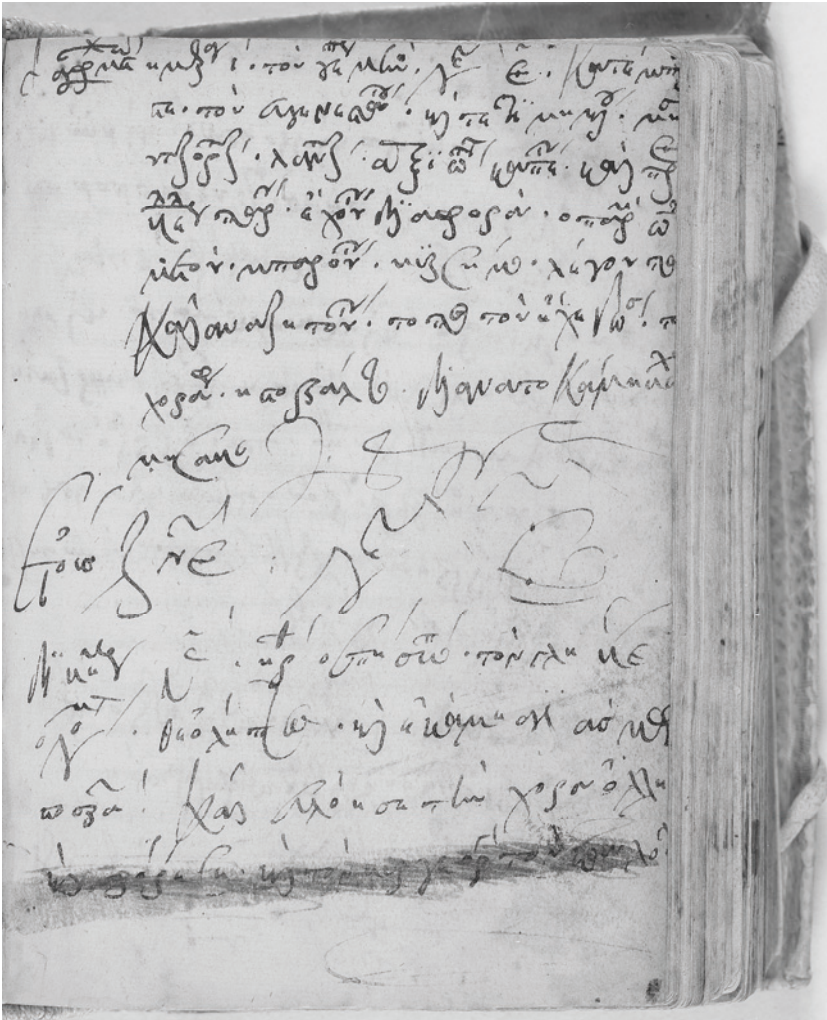
The very last leaf of U2 also represents a secondary layer of inscription. The text on f. 87<sup>r-v</sup> was added by a later owner of the book. One date is given in the first line of f. 87<sup>r</sup> and a second one in the middle of the same page:

αμφς’ ημερα ι’ τοῦ σεπ(τεμβ)ρ(ίου) μηνος) ινδ(ικτιῶνος) ε’ (A.D. 1546, September 10, indiction year 5)

ετους ζνε’ ινδ(ικτιῶνος) ε’ δῖκεμρ(ίου) θ’ (*Anno Mundi* 7055, i.e., A.D. 1546, indiction year 5, December 9).

<sup>49</sup> So for example in chapter V; cf. SJÖBERG 1962, 76, n. 26.

The notes on this folio make difficult reading. Some details were lost with the trimming of the page and the hand itself is very cursive. I would still say that the person adding the notes was an able writer, exhibiting a flowing and adroit hand. The first section of the notes appears to be a petition draft on land litigation, a complaint concerning a piece of land close to the marsh (τα χοράφια ης το βάλτο). A couple of names are mentioned: Ντζορτζ... Λαντζ..., καπετάν and a κϋρ Σήμο. The next few lines include the name of a bishop Theoleptos, who blessed the piece of land and sprinkled it with holy water. On the verso page there is a doxology, and lastly some pen trials.



F. 87<sup>r</sup> (90 % of original size).

## Codicological unit 3 (U3), ff. 88–103

**Quires:** The unit is composed of two quires (Q14–15), both quaternions.

**Paper:** The paper in U3 is different from the kinds in U2 but corresponds with the paper used for U4, U5, and U6. Watermarks in the form of scissors appear in both quires. A similar, but not identical, watermark would be Ha. Ciseaux 68 (1473–1474).

**Justification:** 95 x 60/65 mm, 17 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, except for the headline on f. 88<sup>r</sup>: this line was, I believe, written by co-scribe A, whose collaboration Theodoros has made use of on some pages in U4. We will come back to this in connection with that unit. Suffice it right now to point out the similarities of the word λόγος in the title on f. 88<sup>r</sup> with the same word on f. 104<sup>r</sup> line 4, the extra flourish of Δημόνικον in the title and the corresponding one in καὶ at the end of f. 107<sup>r</sup>. Taken together with letter forms such as crescent-shaped *sigma*, quadratic *nu*, and the overall appearance, these traits do indicate that this scribe has effectuated the first title of U3.

**Texts:** Nos. 5–10. Four larger texts (Isocrates *Oration* 1; Gregory of Nazianzos *Ep.* 114; letters by Hippocrates and Anacharsis). One micro-text (On the soul and its faculties) on f. 98<sup>r</sup> to complete the page at the end of the first main text. The unit ends with a section of five sayings from the Alexander Romance filling up the last one and a half page of Q15. These, and the micro-text mentioned above, are written with a thinner nib, the ink being slightly different in blackness. The last three lines of Q15 are not from the Alexander Romance, but may be seen as an appended commentary to the fifth saying. The first sentence comes from Libanios, *Declamation* 6, the second from *Prov.* 11: 22.

**Decoration:** Initial for first main text (Isocrates): 5 lines in height, red, flourished. Second main text (Gregory of Nazianzos): initial same size and kind. Third main text (Hippocrates): each epistle starts with a red, flourished initial, 2–3 lines in height. Fourth main text (Anacharsis): each of the eight epistles starts with a red initial, 2–3 lines in height. All but the last one are flourished. Also the small page filler in f. 98<sup>r</sup>, Text 6, has its own rubricized title, half a line long, and very small red initial letters in a few places. Even the very last line (mentioning the five senses) got its own title in red, this time in the margin (an afterthought by Theodoros?). A tiny line filler—three dots and a curved line in red—ends the page. In the last text of U3 (the sayings) the initials are, in comparison to the main texts, smaller (1–1½ lines in height) and less embellished.

**Condition:** First and last page of U3 are more soiled than the rest of the pages. There is a diagonal rip in the lower margin of ff. 97–108; in ff. 97–102 the torn part has been cut out, probably to avoid further ripping into the



writing area. F. 103 hangs loose. The rip is seen also in U4, which means that the damage probably happened subsequent to the binding of the codex.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text initiated on first recto, also emphasized with a rubricated heading and a large ornamented initial; **B** – first recto is darker, more soiled than the rest of the leaves; **J** – a new watermark is introduced; **L** – the *mise-en-page* has changed: writing area now lesser in height and with 17 lines per page; **M** – in this unit all the decorations have been neatly executed by the main scribe, as it seems. The red ink is of very good quality compared to the one in U2.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text ends at last verso of Q15, a new text beginning on first recto of next quire (U4); **B** – soiled last verso; **F** and **G** – from ink and other details it seems that the last one and a half page was written in a second relay, after the main texts were finished though by the same scribe.

### Bridging components at a manifest unit boundary

The boundary criteria which distinguish U3 from the preceding unit make it quite clear that we are dealing with another, independent unit. In fact, this border is one of the most manifest in the whole book. But, of course, there are also connecting links. There is the main scribe himself, active in every unit (the pinakes excepted). Another link, if we look at the book as a whole, is the paper; the same watermark that we found in U2, appears in several other units further on in the book. This fact suggests that the scribe created U2, U8–12, and U14–15 at about the same period of time. So even if there is a change in paper between U2 and U3, we need to look further to see the complete picture of connective and separating traits.

In its narrative contents U3 concords well with U2. The Isocrates speech, *To Demonicus*, is often held to be a kind of prince's mirror, or paraenetic text—and the same goes for *Stephanites and Ichneutes*, besides being “a good read” and a widely circulated text. The letter from Gregory of Nazianzos to a certain Keleusios also happens to present a small but charming fable story within it and with a humorous touch: no patristic gravity there. The epistolary novels, Texts 8–9, are examples of the highly favored epistolographic genre, popular among the Byzantines in general, and also with our scribe, Theodoros, as it seems. But they are also narratives, stories, thus going well together with the preceding texts.

Using sayings, proverbs, or other micro-texts is a convenient way of filling up an area which was left over in the first round, and we can see how Theodoros handles this skilfully at many points in *Gr* 8. The excerpts from the Alexander Romance are well adjusted to the other narrative texts in U3. The way the scribe keeps to the subject and adds the two extra commenting lines to the last Alexander saying, goes to show how carefully prepared these quires were, even down to the page fillers.

## Codicological unit 4 (U4), ff. 104–127

**Quires:** Q16–18: [104–111; 112–119; 120–127] 3 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in U3 and U5–6. Watermark: scissors.

**Justification:** 95 x 65 mm, 17 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, except for ff. 104<sup>r</sup>, 107<sup>r</sup>, 109<sup>r</sup> and 112<sup>r</sup> (and line 6 on f. 106<sup>v</sup>), where co-scribe A has taken turns with him.<sup>50</sup> Chapter headings and decorations are in Theodoros' hand also on the four pages mentioned above.

**Texts:** Nos. 11–15. Mainly medical texts: two longer ones (Paul of Aegina and a botanical lexicon) and three shorter ones completing the last leaf (a formula from Aëtios; a note on contraceptives; the seven ages in life).

**Decoration:** Rubrication effectuated in titles, initials and marginalia. On f. 104<sup>r</sup> the title passes into a rubricated strapwork line filler of the same design as the headpiece on f. 128<sup>r</sup> (U5). Floriate initial on f. 104<sup>r</sup>: four lines in height, ditto on f. 106<sup>r</sup>. Subsidiary red initials: 2–3 lines in height. Also the “secondary” texts at the end of the unit have been bestowed with floriate initials, 2–3 lines in height. On f. 127<sup>v</sup> there are two line fillers with the same vegetal design as most of Theodoros' initials. Theodoros seems to have had a problem with the red ink in some places: on f. 122<sup>v</sup> some initials are more brownish than red, and on f. 125<sup>v</sup> the red color is very pale. There are paragraph numbers (α'–κζ') in the margins of Text 11 corresponding to chapters 73–99 in Paul of Aegina's *Medical compendium*, but not so in chapter 100 (i.e. the letter from Diocles to King Antigonus); instead Theodoros signals it as a new text, with the customary cross before the rubricated title, and a large floriate initial at the beginning of the text. In this last chapter a reader has added some key words in the margin and also a couple of large plain initials where he thought it was needed. But Theodoros' text is actually complete: no initials are missing in those places. In Text 12, the botanical lexicon, the lemmata all have their first letter in red. Perhaps a marginal decoration was planned at the beginning of this lexicon, f. 122<sup>v</sup> (as we have it on ff. 147<sup>r</sup> and 152<sup>r</sup>); the red ink there is smeared out.

**Condition:** First recto and last verso of the unit are soiled and stained. Water damage in upper and outer margins. Stains of mildew. There is a rip in the lower margin on ff. 104–108 (the same rip is seen in the latter part of U3).

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text initiated on first recto, also emphasized with a rubricated heading and a large ornamented initial; **B** – soiled first recto, separate damp stains which do not reach into neighboring units; **O** – the texts in U4 all deal with medicine one way or another, something which none of the other units in *Gr* 8 does.

<sup>50</sup> The handwriting of co-scribe A is described *infra*. See also the general section on scribes, p. 55.

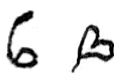



**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text ends at last verso of Q18, a new text beginning on first recto of next quire (U5); **B** – last verso soiled and stained; **F** and **G** – the shorter texts on f. 127<sup>r-v</sup> (Texts 13–15) seem to have been added in a second relay judging from the ink.

### Theodoros' collaborator, co-scribe A

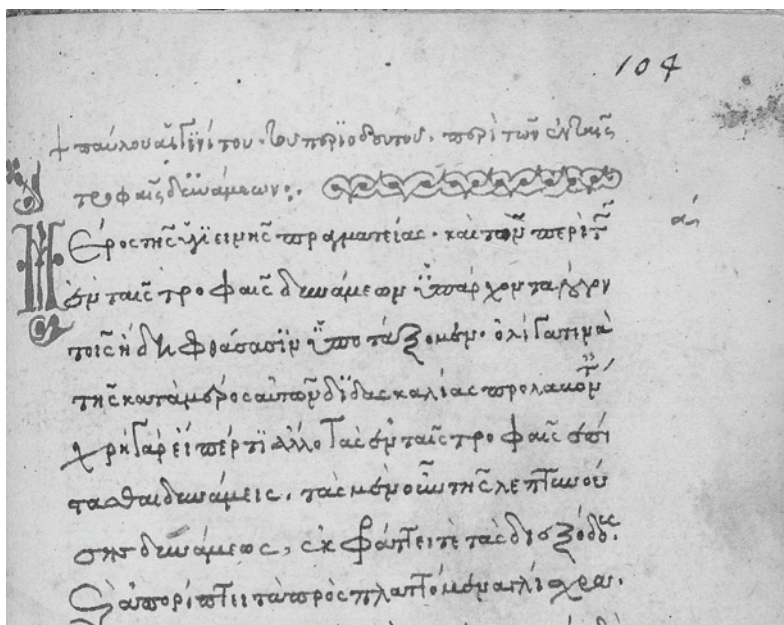
As I mentioned above, p. 59, co-scribe A has seconded Theodoros not only in *Gr* 8 but also in *Parisinus graecus* 3045. There is no identification of the scribe at present. It seems peculiar that this collaborator has been filling in intermittently and on recto pages only (with the one-line exception on f. 106<sup>v</sup>). Could this be an indication that this was a student or apprentice who was allowed to “have a go at it,” while Theodoros maintained the standard? If Theodoros had already copied the opposite page, the preceding verso, it would have been easier to eye the exemplary size and shaping of the script.

Most likely, it was co-scribe A who added the first heading of U3, on f. 88<sup>r</sup> (cf. p. 80). Hence it follows that we cannot use the scribal situation in U4 as a boundary criterium in relation to U3. In fact, it would work the other way around, as a unifying trait which concerns the whole book rather than just “unit level,” especially since we have the same combination of scribes in the Paris manuscript.

Conspicuous traits of his handwriting are: uniformly quadratic or circular letter-forms with small start- and end-spots on most strokes; crescent-shaped *sigma*; the *ka*-ligature (looking like “a large *stigma*”); *μετὰ* with *tau* shaped like a semi-circular stroke (kind of like the left half of a heart) bound to the *alpha*; the diagonal strokes of letters *chi* and *delta* stand out on the page (cf. photo below). Even though the overall result looks fairly even, the hand seems to me less fluent and resourceful as compared to Theodoros'. For example, even if we limit the comparison to ff. 104–112, the leaves in immediate vicinity to the work of co-scribe A, Theodoros makes use of a much larger repertoire of variegated ligatures. The following table illustrates letter forms that differ considerably in the two hands. When more than one shape of a letter is listed, the first one is quantitatively most important (graphs scanned from *Gr* 8, ff. 104–109):

Letters and signs	Theodoros	co-scribe A
<i>beta</i>		
<i>epsilon</i>		

zeta	ζ	Ζ
eta	η	Η
ny	ν	Ν
ksi	ξ	Ξ
sigma	σ	ς
omega	ω	Ω
καί	ή	Σ
μετά	μετα	μετα



F. 104<sup>r</sup> (upper half of the page, original size). Scribe: co-scribe A. The rubricated heading and decorations are in Theodoros' hand.

## Codicological unit 5 (U5), ff. 128–151

**Quires:** Q19–21: [128–135; 136–143; 144–151]: three quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in U3–4 and U6. Watermark: scissors.

**Justification:** 95 x 65 mm, 17 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros.

**Texts:** Nos. 16–22. Philosophical treatises on the soul and its constituents, one by Gregory Thaumaturgos, one by John Philoponos, and two anonymous passages; Manuel Christonymos, *Monody on the Fall of Constantinople*; Leonardo Bruni, *The Constitution of Florence*; a short account of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

**Decoration:** Rubricated strapwork headpiece on f. 128<sup>r</sup> (cf. first recto of U4, f. 104<sup>v</sup>). Titles and subsidiary titles in red. Floriate initials in red (five lines in height) on ff. 135<sup>v</sup> and 147<sup>r</sup> (smaller ones of the same design passim). On f. 138<sup>v</sup> the initial is even larger and more embellished (six lines in height), and here it is outlined in two colours, red and golden-beige ink. The golden-beige ink is here also used for the accompanying heading and line filler. Floriate line fillers accompany the titles on ff. 138<sup>v</sup> and 147<sup>r</sup> and in the latter case there is also a flower in the margin. It may be noted that the large initial on f. 135<sup>v</sup> was really not called for: in the text there is just the beginning of a subordinate paragraph, the kind that most often takes an initial two lines in height. Only this time it happened to stand on the first line of the page, thence the enhancement. The last three lines of the unit (Seven Wonders) were written in a second relay, as a page filler. For the lack of a rubricated title the first half of line one is blank. The small plain initials were inserted at a later stage, and poorly at that, first in pale red and then anew with greyish ink at a couple of places.

**Condition:** F. 128 hangs loose. A rip in the upper margin of ff. 144–145 reaches far into the text (no textual loss). The lower corner of f. 151 is torn off. The unit's first recto and last verso are soiled. Also in the middle of one quire, on ff. 138<sup>v</sup>–139<sup>r</sup>, the paper is soiled and darkened, supposedly from readers handling it. Was it perhaps the large, floriate initial that someone was interested in displaying, or was it the text itself which attracted more attention than other parts of the unit (Text 20, *Monody on the Fall of Constantinople*)? On ff. 128–129 wax stains and a burn mark (did someone have trouble with the candle by reading?). In the upper margin of f. 128<sup>r</sup> there are some traces of words in red ink, most of it lost by trimming. It could be either a prayer formula or a subtitle of some kind: my guess is the latter, since prayer formulae tend to be written in black, i.e., the same ink that the scribe starts out filling the page with. The fact that the first text of the unit includes quite a few such subtitles in red corroborates this supposition.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text initiated on first recto, title enhanced by rubricated headpiece; **B** – first recto of unit

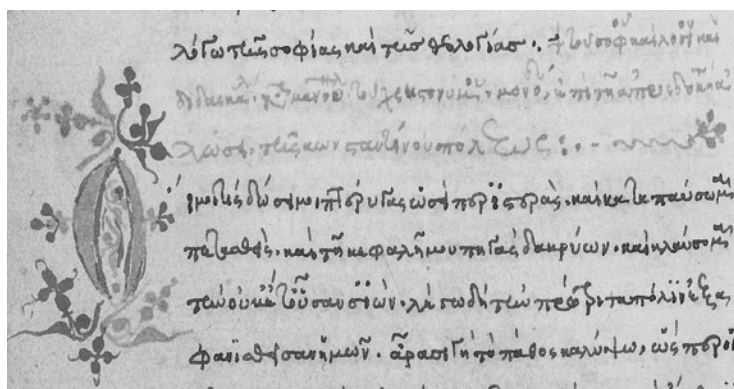
more soiled than the rest of the leaves; **O** – in last unit there were only medical texts, whereas here the emphasis lies on contemporary, fifteenth-century texts.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text end coincides with end of Q21; **B** – last verso soiled and damaged, the corner torn off; **F** and **G** – Text 22 was added secondarily in a blank space at the end.

### Theodoros as rubricator

I have assumed that the floriate initials and other embellishments and decorations are made by Theodoros, and not by somebody else, on account of the rubricated headlines. These are clearly in Theodoros' own handwriting (with one exception on f. 88<sup>r</sup> in U3) and the red ink is identical to the one used for the decorative elements.

How did the rubricator work (in this case Theodoros himself)? Since Theodoros omitted both large and smaller initials in the text to be filled in afterwards with red, he probably had to read through his own text rather carefully so as not to miss out on some of the voids. In some places this becomes obvious, since the corrections which Theodoros has put in the text—such as additions of accents—are made in red ink (e.g. on f. 128<sup>v</sup> a question mark, f. 129<sup>r</sup> accents, f. 131<sup>r</sup> an inserted μέν). The initials at the beginning of a line were always set out in the margin, outside of the justification area. By vowels Theodoros usually put the accent and breathing there right away, in black ink, thereby giving a hint for where to fill in the rubricated initial.



Floriate initial from f. 138<sup>v</sup> (original size).

## Codicological unit 6 (U6), ff. 152–199

**Quires:** Q22–27 [152–159; 160–167; 168–175; 176–183; 184–191; 192–199] 6 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in U3–5. Watermark: scissors.

**Justification:** 95 x 65 mm, 17 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros.

**Texts:** Nos. 23–39. Several texts from the mid-fifteenth century (by Plethon, Bessarion, Nicholas Sagundino, Mark Eugenikos); a declamation by Libanios and a couple of texts attributed to John Chrysostom on much the same theme (women's wretchedness); two short theological tracts (one anonymous, one by John of Damascus); a hymn to the Theotokos; a selection of sayings; two letters by Isidore of Pelousion; a gnomology consisting of excerpts from Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike*. Pen trials/notes (including a name, Διμος πετζαλης φρυσαληοτης).

**Decoration:** Rubricated titles accompanied by floriate decorations (f. 152<sup>r</sup>), a headpiece in strapwork design (f. 162<sup>v</sup>), or just followed by floriate initials of varying size, from 5 to 1 line in height. Floriate line filler on f. 162<sup>r</sup>. The last three leaves are not rubricated, and the two-line blank space on f. 197<sup>r</sup> never got a title filled in. The secondary initials on these leaves, ff. 197–199, are in light brown ink.

**Condition:** Soiled first recto and last verso of unit. Also at the quire boundary between Q23 and Q24 the pages are darkened and soiled. The corner of f. 167 was torn off but has been stitched on again with hemp yarn. Water damage especially large in Q23, but also visible in upper and outer margins of Q24–25. Edges scorched towards end of unit, Q27.

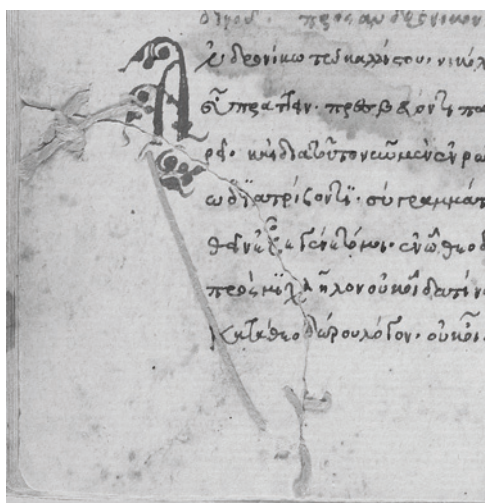
**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto; **B** – first recto soiled.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – quire end and text end coincide; **B** – last verso soiled; **F** and **G** – Text 38 (the *Synopsis Chronike* gnomology) represents a secondary layer of inscription, added on leaves that were left blank in the first round. After this text follows yet another—tertiary—layer (Text 39), in the form of scribbles and a name, presumably an owner's additions.

### Τάξις ἀρετῶν: a schematic outline of the virtues

On f. 162<sup>v</sup> there is a diagram illustrating the cardinal virtues *prudence*, *righteousness*, *fortitude*, and *temperance*, and the qualities associated with each of them. It is worked out in red and black ink with decorations in the same floriate design as Theodoros uses for his initials. The diagram summarizes what has been presented in the text on the previous page and is introduced on f. 162<sup>r</sup> with the request: Ὅρα δὲ ἔμπροσθεν καὶ τὰ σχήματα τῶν ἀρετῶν.

The fact that the numbering in the diagram seems somewhat random is explained by the list on the preceding page: here the qualities are listed in order from  $\alpha$  to  $\iota\beta$  (1–12), and in the diagram Theodoros adjusted the numbers accordingly. The planning of rubricated initials did not turn out quite right, though; when he wrote the words in black he forgot to leave out some of the initial letters, so that as a result we now have read *πολιτεία*, *χρηστότης*, *κκοσμότης*, et cetera. This indicates that the visual appearance of the rubrication was more important than a correctly written text. Another oversight on Theodoros' part was to change the size of the writing area below the diagram. Apparently he took the text written in black ink in the diagram as the normal left border position, with the result that the text lines are indented and the floriate initial is placed inside the normal *mise-en-page* instead of in the margin where it ought to be. The diagram is reproduced on the front cover (dust jacket) of this book.



F. 167<sup>v</sup>. The torn-off corner was stitched on with hemp yarn.



## Codicological unit 7 (U7), ff. 200–207

**Quires:** Q28: [200–207] quaternion.

**Paper:** Watermark in the form of an anchor on f. 204 (a small fragment of it also on f. 203), remotely similar to Br. Ancre 460 (1475–1490). This watermark appears only in U7, though it is reasonable to believe that the same paper is used for Q31 (in U9); the quality and laid pattern are identical but no watermark is visible in the ternion.

**Justification:** 103 x 65 mm, 18 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros.

**Texts:** Nos. 40–41. George Gemistos Plethon, *Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine* (f. 200<sup>r</sup>–206<sup>v</sup> line 1); Mark Eugenikos, notes on the *filioque* doctrine, inc. *Ἐκπορεύεται* (f. 206<sup>v</sup>–207<sup>v</sup>).

**Decoration:** Rubrication planned but not executed. Two lines are left blank on f. 200<sup>r</sup>, indicating that a headpiece or some other means of decoration was supposed to accompany the title (cf. the introduction of units 4, 5, and 13; ff. 104, 128, and 286 respectively). In the upper margin Nicholas de la Torre (cf. U1) has added *τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λατίνων*. The blank title space has been used by another reader, who gawkishly tried to copy the first line of the text. Likewise, the plain initials on f. 200<sup>r</sup> and f. 206<sup>v</sup> were added afterwards. Also on f. 206<sup>v</sup> Theodoros left a blank line for a rubricated title; here somebody added “*μαρκος ὁ φεσης ἀποφαση του πατριαρχειου*.”

**Condition:** Soiled first recto (difference less conspicuous on last verso); the overall impression is that this quire is cleaner than both the preceding and the following units. Upper edge slightly singed.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text initiated on first recto, the text was supposed to carry a rubricated heading; **J** – different kind of paper; **L** – different *mise-en-page*; (**M**) – preceding unit was rubricated and decorated, whereas this one is not.<sup>51</sup>

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text end and quire end coincide, a new text beginning on first recto of next quire (U8); **F** – small blank space ending last verso.

<sup>51</sup> I have put the last criterion in parenthesis, since its weight is lessened by the fact that the last three leaves of U6 are not rubricated. It could be that the scribe after having finished U6, though with the last three leaves blank, then decided to expand the unit with Text 38 (the *Synopsis Chronike* gnomology) and what is now U7. In that case the boundary between U6 and U7 is blurred by the fact that neither Text 38 nor Texts 40–41 are rubricated. On the other hand, U7 may very well have been created independently; we cannot know if Text 38 was added to U6 before or after the creation of U7.

## The affinity between U6 and U7

The two texts of U7 both fit into the intellectual discussions which were topical in the aftermath of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1438–1445. The same goes for the preceding unit, where several texts by Plethon and his circle of acquaintances are included as well as texts by Mark Eugenikos (ff. 152–173 and 190–193). A question that lies near at hand is whether the two units were jointly planned. If there would have been space enough in the last quire of U6, these two texts would, from the viewpoint of contents, suitably have fitted in that section. Could that have been Theodoros’ original plan? Only, when he had finished Text 31 (Mark Eugenikos *Analogies*) there were six leaves left blank and the Plethon text, *Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine*, would require seven leaves. This may have led him to postpone copying what are now Texts 40–41, putting them in a separate quire, and to proceed filling the last quire of U6 with other items instead. As the basis for such a supposition we would need some kind of inverted **O**-criterion: the absence of a break in contents, the affinity in genre/authors/texts, would supposedly point to a deliberate juxtaposition. Although not wholly unlikely, there is a catch here: the juxtaposition can be primary (by inscription), secondary but still made by the scribe himself at some later stage in the copying process, or it may be done on a much later occasion when somebody else decides to create a composite out of separate codicological units. An “inverted **O**-criterion” is, accordingly, not very practical as an analytical tool.

If we consider what is clearly a secondary layer at the end of U6, it only comprises the last three leaves, i.e., the excerpts from Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronike*, Text 38 (plus an owner’s scribbles, Text 39). There are no traces of a break in Theodoros’ work procedure after Text 31 (i.e. on f. 193<sup>v</sup>), something which could perhaps be expected if we adhere to the hypothesis of joint units. Another complication is the rubrication, present in U6 (except for the secondarily written leaves, ff. 197–199) but absent in U7. We also need to consider the difference in watermarks which *may* tell against an uninterrupted work session (an admittedly weak argument, since one can certainly run out of one sort of paper and go on copying from another stack of paper). The only moderately “safe” supposition is that Theodoros—or whoever prepared the book for binding—recognized the similar contents of U6 and U7 and thought it befitting to combine them in the composite book.

## Codicological unit 8 (U8), ff. 208–223

**Quires:** Q29–30: [208–215; 216–223] 2 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, also used for the last quire of U9, U10–12 and U14–15. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 103 x 65 mm, 18 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros.

**Texts:** No. 42, a selection of excerpts from John Tzetzes' *Book of Histories* (*Chiliades*), including a letter from Tzetzes to John Lachanas (*Chil.* 4, 471–779).

**Decoration:** Rubrication of title and initials planned but not executed by Theodoros. In upper margin of f. 208<sup>r</sup> a later hand has filled in a short title, most of it illegible due to stains and dirt (ἡστορη ... δηόνυσηον?) The initials in place were probably added by the same reader, sometimes wrongly and never elegantly. From letter forms and ink it seems likely that the reader/owner who wrote his name in the preceding unit, Διμος Πετζαλης Φρυσαληοτης (U6, f. 199<sup>v</sup>) is responsible for these additions. Similar short titles are scattered throughout the unit.

**Condition:** The unit is severely stained by moisture. First recto and last verso soiled. On f. 217 there is a rip in the lower margin.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text initiated on first recto, blank line left for rubricated title; **B** – first recto stained and soiled, the water damage does not match with U7; **J** – different paper/watermark; **O** – contents change from fifteenth-century theological discussions in U7 to historical/mythical episodes in verse in U8.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text end and quire end coincide; **B** – last verso darkened and stained; **E** – an extra line added and script compressed on last verso.

### Transposed units?

There is a possibility that units 6–10 were intended to be arranged in another sequence than the present one and that they happened to be transposed at binding or rebinding. This is not obvious from the contents: no texts have been affected internally. But if we put together indications of a codicological nature we get the following picture (outlined in the table, below). The paper quality and watermarks differ between units: scissors in U6, anchor in U7, oxhead in U8, probably anchor in U9 (at least the paper quality agrees with U7), oxhead in U10. U7 (Q28) and first quire of U9 (Q31) are cleaner than the other parts; they show almost no water damage. Even the last verso of U7 and the first recto of U9 look neat. U8, on the contrary, has large conspicuous moisture stains in upper and outer margins and at the bottom of the spine. The stain in the upper margin seems gradually to appear in Q31 and is

fully developed in Q32 of U9, and in Q32 the rest of the staining seems to correspond with what is visible in U8. Some quires are singed at the edges, especially Q27 (U6) and Q32. When it comes to the number of lines to the page, there are 17 lines in U6, 18 in U7 (except last verso which has 17 lines + blank space at the end); U8 has got 18 lines, as does U10 as well; in U9 Q31 has a writing area of 17 lines while Q32 has 18 lines.

Unit	Watermark	Moisture stains	Singeing	Lines per page
U6	scissors	yes	front edge of last quire	17 lines
U7	anchor	no	no	18 (last verso 17)
U8	oxhead	yes	no	18 lines
U9, Q31	anchor?	incipient from mid-quire on	no	17 lines
U9, Q32	oxhead	yes	upper edge	18 lines
U10	oxhead	yes	no	18 lines

Some of the differences outlined here may point to U9 having originally been produced in sequence with U7 and prior to U8. As an hypothesis we may suppose that U8 was thereafter inserted in-between those two. The original unit sequence would then have been U6—U7—U9—U8—U10.

How would this hypothesis affect the contents? The texts in U7 are closely connected with some in U6, thence probably planned to follow there. U8 is independent and could stand anywhere; the Tzetzes episodes and his letter to Lachanas fit well with several units in *Gr 8*, not least with U9 and U10, though. U10 has one stanza (Text 52) of the poem *Carmen Paraeneticum* which, in U9, is presented together with the rest of the stanzas (Text 46). Thus it makes more sense that U9 was produced prior to U10 and that Theodoros reused some lines of the poem in a subsequent unit. On the whole, the reasons for connecting U7 to U9 are material/codicological rather than based on contents, but there is nothing that speaks against a transposal of U8 and U9 at some stage in the composition or recomposition of *Gr 8*.

## Codicological unit 9 (U9), ff. 224–237

**Quires:** Q31: [224–229] ternion. Q32: [230–237] quaternion.

**Paper:** Q31: no watermark visible, but the laid pattern matches the paper of Q28 (U7), with the watermark anchor. Q32: watermark oxhead, i.e. the same paper as in the main part of U2, and in U8, U10–12, and U14–15.

**Justification:** Q31: 98 x 65–70 mm. Q32: 102 x 65 mm. 17 lines to the page on ff. 224–226 and 228–229; 18 lines on f. 227<sup>r-v</sup> though still inside the same *mise-en-page* as the surrounding pages; 18 lines on ff. 230–237.

**Scribe:** Theodoros. Later additions of “titles” to the epistles in greyish ink.

**Texts:** Nos. 43–47. A selection of twenty letters by Theophylact Simokates; the Decalogue; lists of kings; an anonymous poem, *Carmen Parae-neticum*; a three-line epigram as a page filler.

**Decoration:** No decoration effectuated by Theodoros. First line on f. 224<sup>r</sup> left blank for heading; likewise a blank line spared for the title of Text 45 (lists of kings). Small plain initials were added later in light brown ink.

**Condition:** In Q31 f. 224<sup>r</sup> looks fine; 229<sup>v</sup> and 230<sup>r</sup> are slightly more soiled. Q32 is singed and stained by moisture.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto; **C** – the unit starts with a ternion; **J** – first quire of different paper than that of U8, but seems to be of the same kind as the one used for U7; **L** – writing area of different size and the number of lines to the page differs in first quire; **N** – prayer formula written by Theodoros in upper margin of first recto: + ι(ησο)υ μου βοήθει μοι.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text boundary and quire boundary coincide; **B** – last verso soiled, the scorched edges of last quire have no counterpart in next unit.

### The change in layout between Q31 and Q32

There are some differences between the two quires that together make up U9. A different kind of paper is used for the second quire and the *mise-en-page* is not quite the same. But since Text 43 overlaps the quire boundary, Q31–32 ought to have been produced together. Had Theodoros used a quaternion instead of a ternion, the letters by Simokates would have fitted nicely. Could this be another instance of Theodoros overlooking the size of the quire at hand (cf. U2, Q2–3)? Or was he just determined to use up that kind of paper (with the anchor watermark) anyhow, knowing that the text would have to reach into another quire? Either way there is a change in writing area in the middle of U9 and in mid-text, something which is otherwise rare. One way to explain this is to suggest that all the quires with the watermark “oxhead” were prepared in advance to have a writing area of ca.

103x65 mm, just as we have it in Q32 and also in most of the other units carrying oxhead watermarks. On the other hand, one would further expect the writing areas of Q31 and Q28 (U7) to correspond if—as I hypothesized earlier—they were produced in sequence from the same stack of paper.<sup>52</sup> They do not correspond. This looks aggravating for the credibility of our hypothesis; perhaps the units were not transposed after all? There is a way to salvage this, though: let us suppose that Theodoros has just copied U7 and it lays there on the table. He proceeds with Q31 (U9), and has as his model the last verso page of U7. That particular page had only 17 lines of text, whereas the rest of U7 had 18 lines to each page. The outcome is that Theodoros will design the writing area of Q31 to equal the layout of f. 207<sup>v</sup>, which is exactly how it has turned out in *Gr* 8. Consequently, what seemed to be a compromising factor has now been shown to corroborate the link between U7 and U9.

## Codicological unit 10 (U10), ff. 238–253

**Quires:** Q33–34: [238–245; 246–253] 2 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in Q2–Q11 of U2, also present in U8, in Q32 of U9, in U11–12 and in U14–15. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 103x65 mm, 18 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros. In this unit and also in units 11–13 Theodoros uses a dark brown ink, whereas in the other parts of *Gr* 8 the ink is generally deep black.

**Texts:** Nos. 48–52. A florilegium encompassing almost 200 sayings from *alpha* to *omega* (inc. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεῖς); a short chronological note on the Trojan war, Homer, and Xerxes' crossing of the Hellespont; a lexicon of synonyms (inc. Ἀλαλάξατε· ὑψώσατε); Michael Choniates' *Elegy on Athens*; one stanza of *Carmen Paraeneticum*.<sup>53</sup>

**Decoration:** The plain initials are secondary, added in light brown ink (cf. U9).

**Condition:** Soiled first recto and last verso. Water damage especially in upper and outer margins.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto; **B** – first recto soiled; **K** – color of ink different than in preceding units.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text end and quire end coincide; **B** – last verso soiled; **E** – script is smaller and more crammed

<sup>52</sup> For the discussion on transposed units, see U8, above.

<sup>53</sup> Stanza 17 of *Carmen Paraeneticum* is also met with in Text 46, ff. 234<sup>f</sup>–237<sup>v</sup> (U9).

on last verso, especially in Text 52, and an extra line was added at the end, thus stretching the writing area.

U10 is a relatively uncomplicated unit. Also in contents (sayings, a synonym lexicon, poems) it harmonizes well with adjacent units, and this is true whether one presupposes a transposition of units 8 and 9 or not. U8 with its gnomic stories on verse, U9 with its fictitious letters, lists, and a poem: neither sticks out in relation to U10 (cf. discussion on these units, above).

## Codicological unit 11 (U11), ff. 254–261

**Quires:** Q35: [254–261] quaternion.

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, in U8–10, U12, and U14–15. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 102 x 65 mm, 18 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, using dark brown ink.

**Texts:** Nos. 53–55. An anonymous text on the soul (inc. Ἄς μὲν ἔχομεν δόξας περὶ ψυχῆς); two short sayings; an anonymous prose paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianzos' Carmen 2.9, *De virtute*.

**Decoration:** A blank line saved for a title on f. 254<sup>r</sup> and f. 257<sup>r</sup>. Rubricated initials planned but not executed. Small plain initials added by a later hand (the first one mistakenly as η instead of α). On f. 256<sup>r-v</sup> there are simple diagrams which give an outline of what has been discussed in Text 53; here too some initials are missing.

**Condition:** Damp stains in common with preceding and ensuing units. First recto is soiled (but not the last verso).

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** A – new text on first recto; B – first recto page is more soiled than the rest of the quire.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** A – text end and quire end coincide; E – on last verso the writing area is enlarged with yet another line and the script is both smaller and more compressed to fit the text on the page.

## U11–12: One divisible unit or two single but closely related units?

One may doubt whether U11 should actually be seen as separate from the ensuing unit. The texts are admittedly complete and we do have compressed writing at the end of the quire. Still, it is important to notice that the last verso of U11 *and* the first recto of U12 do not seem very soiled or worn. It is thus likely that these quires were put together quite soon after having been

copied, or even that they were copied at the same time, i.e. as one single unit comprising two separable parts. Nevertheless, I have chosen to present these parts as two different units, and rather discuss how much or little boundary “proof” we have in each case. As noted above, when the data are inconclusive you lose more in bringing the presumed units together than by keeping them apart in the overall schedule. It is safer to admit the vagueness in present criteria than to blur possible differences by implicitly sketching a tight link.

#### Recycling of page fillers

The two sayings at the bottom of f. 256<sup>v</sup> are the same as were used on f. 196<sup>v</sup> (Text 37, U6) but for a slight change in word order in the second one: μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ· ὅρος δὲ φιλοσοφίας ἡ τοῦ θανάτου μελέτη (remembrance of death is beneficial in life; philosophy’s definition: the study of death).<sup>54</sup> From a stylistic point of view, the two sentences are here nicely knit together through the crosswise position of the terms μνήμη θανάτου – θανάτου μελέτη. But there is no way to tell which of the two instances was primary. Besides, it is more interesting to see how they are used, whether the scribe wanted to make them fit with the context or if it is all the same to him what preceded the blank space. In this instance the sayings follow a text with philosophical contents, whereas in U6 this is less obvious. We may compare with U5, where Theodoros put the page filler on the “Seven wonders,” i.e. impressive building endeavors, in sequence with the texts on two mighty contemporary cities, Constantinople and Florence. Also in U3 we saw a conscious usage of the space left at the end of the unit, as anecdotal extra material was put in sequence with similar main texts. Evidently it is not insignificant for our scribe what material he adds to fill up his pages and quires. The fact that these micro-texts are often arranged to have rubricated initials and decorations together with the rest of the texts (as in U3–6) goes to show their status as acknowledged parts of the book expressing a compositional whole.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> On f. 196<sup>v</sup> the latter is rendered as ὅρος φιλοσοφίας· μελέτη θανάτου.

<sup>55</sup> Another instance of recycling was seen at the end of the preceding unit (U10), where one stanza of the poem *Carmen Paraeneticum* reappeared as a page filler, despite having already been included together with the rest of the stanzas in U9.



## Codicological unit 12 (U12), ff. 262–285

**Quires:** Q36–38: [262–269; 270–277; 278–285] 3 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, also present in U8–11, U14–15. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 102 x 65 mm, 18 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, using a dark brown ink. Some “titles” and marginal notes have been added in greyish and light brown ink by a later hand, probably the same person who wrote the document on f. 87 and the short chronicle in the margin of f. 283<sup>v</sup>.

**Texts:** Nos. 56–66. Four longer excerpts from Theodoret’s *Cure of the Pagan Maladies* fill up almost 17 leaves. The next three leaves contain a number of short texts of various kinds: philosophical commentaries, two epigrams (*AP* IX 359–360), a dialectal lexicon. Lists of patriarchates and bishoprics, of inventors and emperors follow on ff. 281–283. The unit ends with an astrological/geomantic text which is not complete.

**Decoration:** Plain initials in light brown ink were all filled in secondarily. A blank line was allocated for rubricated headlines to Texts 56 (Theodoret) and 62 (lists patriarchates), but the rubrication was never executed by the scribe. On f. 283<sup>v</sup> a zodiac is depicted; astrological signs in the margins of ff. 284<sup>v</sup>–285<sup>r</sup>, and on f. 285<sup>v</sup> a diagram with geomantic “houses.”<sup>56</sup>

**Condition:** First recto is relatively clean, cf. U11. Last verso is darkened and soiled. The moisture stains in upper margin and at the spine look similar to the ones in U11, but differ slightly from U13. Trimming has affected some of the marginal notes. Probably at least one quire is missing at end of unit.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** (**A**) – the last text does not continue into the ensuing unit, but since the text breaks off incomplete, we do not know how comprehensive U12 was originally. Nevertheless, there is still a boundary here in relation to U13, but that conclusion must rely more on what we can infer from U13 itself; **B** – last verso soiled.

### The relationship between micro-texts

The fact that the unit lacks decorations, titles, and rubricated initials makes it more difficult to distinguish how Theodoros perceived the relationship between smaller texts. One can conclude that even though he did not leave much blank space at the beginning of Text 58, for example, he probably

<sup>56</sup> The zodiac and the diagram with geomantic houses are depicted in Chapter 5, pp. 218 and 222.

planned to have an author's name there and perhaps the beginning of the epigram written in red (now the first half line of *AP* IX 359 is missing). Otherwise he would not have put “τοῦ αὐτοῦ” above the next epigram (*AP* IX 360). Texts 59–60 are also problematical: in contents Text 60 looks like an amplification of Text 59, and thus it is not clear whether they should be treated as one or two items. Furthermore, Text 60 seems to be construed from a number of short excerpts added one after another. But one cannot say whether Theodoros picked this and that from different sources, or the “whole” text was borrowed from a model manuscript.

If we compare with the rubrication in U3, we see that Theodoros often needs less than an inch of a line to fit in a small title or subtitle. We can thus assume that such aid was to be added as a means of orientation for the reader. However, large initials which have been inserted secondarily must not be trusted as guidance in these matters. As an example we may choose the initial at the top of f. 279<sup>v</sup>: it would be easy to infer from the large initial that a new text starts right there. One would then treat the last line of f. 279<sup>r</sup> as a page filler with no relation to what follows on the next page. But that is not the case: the large initial is quite uncalled for since the text definitely bridges the recto and verso pages.<sup>57</sup>

## Codicological unit 13 (U13), ff. 286–301

**Quires:** Q39–40: [286–293; 294–301] 2 quaternions.

**Paper:** The paper does not resemble what we find in other units in *Gr* 8. No watermark visible in Q39, but the somewhat coarse quality equals the paper of Q40 where we can see the spikes of a crown.

**Justification:** 103 x 70–75 mm on ff. 286–298; 108 x 70–75 mm on ff. 299–301<sup>r</sup>; 110 x 75 mm on f. 301<sup>v</sup>. Q39: 23–26 lines, Q40: 22–31 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, using dark brown ink. Densely filled pages with little space left for outer margin now due to trimming. The lines are sloping downwards to the right on most recto pages.

**Texts:** Nos. 67–72. A selection of letters by Basil the Great, Libanios, and Gregory of Nazianzos, two excerpts (speeches) from Josephus' *The Jewish War*, and a treatise/letter on astronomy by Nikephoros Gregoras.

**Decoration:** On f. 286<sup>r</sup> a strapwork knot in upper margin and a large ornamented initial, 3 lines in height; the shade of ink is not inconsistent with

<sup>57</sup> The reader who added the initials seems to have assumed that f. 279<sup>v</sup> rendered the beginning of a lexicon starting on *alpha*, thence the large and decorated *alpha* wrongly inserted for *delta* (“Αεξιόν” instead of <δ>εξιόν). Also the third word on the page got an initial *alpha* instead of the *phi* that was required (“αῶς” instead of <φ>ῶς). See also Appendix 1, p. 293.

Theodoros' text on the same page, but it is still difficult to assess whether the decorations are primary (by Theodoros) or not. Blank spaces left for insertion of initials were later filled with plain ones partly in brownish-black, partly in light brown ink. The fairly sized breathings and accents set out in the margin by Theodoros (e.g. on f. 293<sup>v</sup>) indicate that he planned to have larger initials also at the beginning of each of the letters. As for the titles and subsidiary titles: though the lines are thinner Theodoros could still have put them in together with the primary layer. The variation can be explained by a different slanting of the pen.

**Condition:** Soiled first recto and last verso. Damp stains which do not resemble the ones in Q38 (U12). Cropped leaves, marginal notes partly lost.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – quire boundary and text boundary coincide; **B** – first recto is darker, more soiled and worn than the rest of the leaves; **H** – plausibly the size of the leaves was different in this unit, since the writing area leaves almost no room for an outer margin in its cropped state; **J** – different paper/watermark; **L** – different *mise-en-page*; **M** – different style of decoration; **O** – change in textual contents.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – quire boundary and text boundary coincide; **B** – last verso soiled and worn; **E** – script compressed to make the text fit, or rather: the writing area is very well planned, so as to gently fit the texts into the quire.

### A unit sloppily written or not?

At first sight it may seem that U13 is less carefully executed than the rest of *Gr 8*. The number of lines per page varies, the pages are very densely written, and the nib of Theodoros' pen is less sharp than usual. The fact that the titles and marginal entries were executed in black ink and not in red—as they are in U3 for example—reinforces the picture of U13 being, if not perfunctorily, so at least less lavishly copied. Another detail which adds to the impression of a more trivial copying is the narrow outer margin. Nor is the balancing of the page and the marginal space that we see in other parts of the book present here. But this could also be the result of trimming: it seems most likely that the leaves of U13 were originally of a larger size than those of other units in *Gr 8*.

At a closer inspection, however, it becomes apparent that the planning of these leaves was just as professional and premeditated as ever. Take, for example, the page with the fewest lines, f. 294<sup>v</sup>: by writing only 22 lines Theodoros was able to end Basil's letter at precisely the last line of the page, beginning a new letter at the top of f. 295<sup>r</sup>. In a corresponding case on f. 292<sup>v</sup>–293<sup>r</sup> the subtitle is put at the bottom of the preceding page while the letter itself starts on the first line of the next page: that way Theodoros had the opportunity to plan a large initial at the top of the page. On the other hand Theodoros respects his *mise-en-page* higher than the urge to squeeze in

each letter on its own page: he could, for example, have chosen to add a line at the bottom of f. 295<sup>r</sup> to fit the letter in. But since that would have burst the justification measurements, he had to do without it. A tricky parallel is present at the transition from recto to verso of f. 296: Theodoros puts the subtitle in the upper margin of the verso page despite the fact that the first line on the verso actually belongs to the end of the preceding letter, the new letter starting on line two. The illusion is that he succeeds in starting out with a new text at the top of this verso page also.

The slight increase in number of lines in Q40 seems well-arranged too (starting out with ca. 25 lines per page and ending with the suite 31/29/29/28/28/28). From the bottom of f. 298<sup>v</sup> (Texts 71–72) Theodoros combines the larger number of lines per page with a further condensation of words on each line. These last six pages must have been meticulously calculated, since he manages to stick to his *mise-en-page* of 28 lines per page all through the last three pages and nevertheless end his last text exactly at the bottom of f. 301<sup>v</sup>. The conclusion must be that a cursory judgment on scribal work based on what the pages superficially look like may be fallacious. If, on the contrary, we inspect the copying procedure more closely and try to follow the steps a scribe has taken—reading his mind, so to speak—this may well lead us to a revised view on these matters.

## Codicological unit 14 (U14), ff. 302–307

**Quires:** Q41: [302–307] quaternion minus 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> leaves, which have been cut out (stubs remain).

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, also present in U8–9, U11–12, and U15. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 108 x 70 mm, 19 lines to the page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros, using good black ink. By other hands: owner's marks, computations, and notes on otherwise blank pages (ff. 305<sup>v</sup>–307<sup>v</sup>).

**Texts:** Nos. 73–75. <Leo VI>, *Canticum Compunctionis*, i.e. an alphabetical anacreontic poem on the Last Judgement, and another anonymously transmitted poem of similar structure, with the incipit Ἀπὸ μουσικῶν μελόθρων. The author of the latter is Constantine of Sicily. Pen trials and notes.

**Decoration:** Two lines left blank on f. 302<sup>r</sup> for rubricated title and perhaps a headpiece; ditto on f. 303<sup>v</sup>. The void spaces left for rubricated initials were later filled in with small plain ones in greyish-beige ink.

**Condition:** Moisture damage the same as in neighboring quires. Only slightly more soiled on first recto and last verso.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto; **D** – leaves cut out from latter half of the quire; **J** – different paper than in U13; **L** – different *mise-en-page*.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – main texts end already on f. 305<sup>r</sup>; **F** – ff. 305<sup>v</sup>–307<sup>v</sup> left blank by main scribe; **G** – owners' notes and scribbles added on previously blank pages.

## The notes and scribbles in U14

Of the scribbled entries that we find on the otherwise blank pages in this unit, one is by Theodoros himself, at the top of f. 306<sup>v</sup>: + τί γάρ μοι ὑπάρχ(ει) ἐν τῷ οὐ(ρα)νῷ καὶ παρὰ σοῦ τι ἦθ[...]. “Whom have I in heaven, and beside You whom would I <desire upon earth>?” This is a verse from the *Septuagint*, *Ps.* 72: 25. The entry is in the same black ink that Theodoros has used for the rest of the texts, but it starts in the middle of the upper margin and it does not seem as if he planned to complete the text.

The rest of the notes are by at least two different hands. One, rather fluent, on f. 305<sup>v</sup>, perhaps the same hand as we see traces of in several units (the longest entry being the document on f. 87). Here it reads:

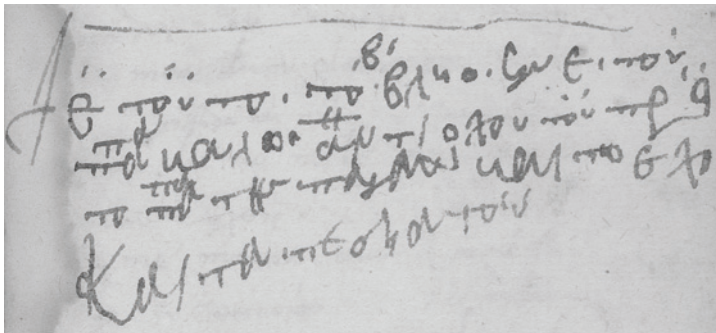
+ θ(ε)δ(ς) τὸ τεχθὲν ἢ δὲ μ(ή)τηρ παρθένος· τι μείζων ἄλλον καινὼν

This we may identify as a short poem in dodecasyllabic verse by Manuel Philes, the second line of which runs τί μείζον ἄλλο καινὸν εἶδεν ἢ κτίσις;, i.e. *Carmina* 1. 5. The next line on f. 305<sup>v</sup> may perhaps be by the same hand: + ὧν τα καθύσω νὰ ἡδῶ ταδ.

In stumbling strokes of the pen an owner of the book has declared his and his children's right to the book. On f. 305<sup>v</sup> it reads:

+ στο μεν πεδεσεν φαβω κ(υριο)ν εμεις γαρ ειλησ(ον) με + ε τουτο το  
βιβλιο ενε το + ε ταυτα τα χαρτι

Then, on f. 307<sup>r</sup>, the whole message:



+ ε τουτο το βιβλho ενε του παπα καλωι(αννι)? αντιoχου του προτοπαπα της παλεια? και το εχη και τα πεδηα του. Here we are thus given the name of one of the many owners and readers of this book: the priest Kaloiannis Antiochos who was protopapas in “Palea.”<sup>58</sup> From the position of the entry on f. 305<sup>v</sup>, where the owner’s notice follows upon the more fluent lines (the Manuel Philes excerpt), we may infer that this Kaloiannis was a later owner of the book than the person who wrote the document on f. 87.<sup>59</sup> This means that he must have owned *Gr* 8 some time between 1547 and the early 1570s. Unfortunately nothing else is known about this man and his children.<sup>60</sup>

On f. 306<sup>v</sup> this Kaloiannis has put another few words: Χ(ριστο)ς ανεστι εκ νε<κρῶν>, i.e. “Christ has risen from the dead.”

The rest of the notes on f. 306<sup>v</sup> and 307<sup>r</sup> are computations:

250	5	2
5	2	1
440	4	2
1	1	3
<u>3</u>	6	4
1590	<u>7</u>	8
	2500	<u>7</u>
		2700

347	211	
534	2 4	
8	<u>1 9</u>	(f. 307 <sup>r</sup> ):
2	524	1 4
<u>3</u>		277
2181		334
		555
		<u>499</u>
		1769

F. 307<sup>v</sup> is blank except for the phrase μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν, which has been copied from the beginning of U15, f. 308<sup>r</sup> (*Ps.* 31).

<sup>58</sup> During the period of Venetocracy the ecclesiastic office of protopapas was common in Crete and in the Heptanesa (Ionian Islands). Second to the bishop in rank, the protopapas functioned as an intermediate between the authorities and the Greek population (BAGIAKAKOS 1959, 223).

<sup>59</sup> An even more unambiguous sequence is the “repetition” of pen trials on f. 328<sup>r</sup>; cf. U16, below.

<sup>60</sup> The unskilled writing of this priest should not be taken as a sign of illiteracy or incapacity to appreciate the contents of the book. The abilities to read and write were not as closely coupled then as they are today. Cf. GREEN 1994, 9.

## Codicological unit 15 (U15), ff. 308–323

**Quires:** Q42–43: [308–315; 316–323] 2 quaternions.

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, also present in U8–9, U11–12, and U14. Watermark: oxhead.

**Justification:** 103 x 70 mm, 9 + 9 lines of Latin and supralinear Greek (writing area of f. 316 is 110 x 70 mm; on ff. 320–323 ca. 110–120 mm in height, length of lines varying).

**Scribe:** Greek text in Theodoros' hand, Latin text by co-scribe B; see discussion *infra*.

**Texts:** Nos. 76–83. *Ps.* 32 (=LXX, *Ps.* 31) *Beati quorum remissae sunt* / Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι; *Ps.* 38 (=LXX, *Ps.* 37) *Domine ne in furore tuo* / Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς με; and *Ps.* 51 (=LXX, *Ps.* 50) *Miserere mei Deus* / Ἐλέησόν με, ὁ Θεός; Ausonius' poem *De institutione viri boni*; “ἡδὼρ μεν γέν” (in a later hand); liturgical texts (*Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, *Credo*); *Ps.* 6 *Domine ne in furore tuo* / Κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου ἐλέγξῃς με;<sup>61</sup> letter headings. Pen trials and notes on last leaf (among them the initial lines of an arithmetic problem, inc. εἰσὶν μήλοι τρεῖς).<sup>62</sup>

**Decoration:** Plain initials in the Latin text executed in the same black ink as the rest of the script. One initial missing—supposed to be rubricated?—at beginning of Text 77.

**Condition:** Unit badly water damaged. First recto and last verso soiled. A rip in upper margin of f. 312.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text on first recto; **B** – first recto soiled; **K** – different handwriting; **L** – writing area differs slightly from U14, but concords with many of the other units in *Gr* 8; **M** – plain initials in black filled in together with the primary layer; **O** – change in contents.

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text end and quire end coincide; **B** – last verso soiled; **F** – space left open at end of quire; **G** – alphabets and other notes added on the formerly blank leaf at the end.

## The scribes of U15

U15 is bilingual. One of the texts, *De institutione viri boni*, is written solely in Latin, while the others are in Latin but have a translation into Greek above each line. The Latin, which is written in a humanist hand, is very neat and professional. I have earlier suggested that the hand might be Janus Lascaris' (at a conference in Hamburg, 1999), but fear that this question has to be left in suspense. The Greek text is—judging from orthography and the flow the

<sup>61</sup> Incidentally, the incipits of *Ps.* 38 and *Ps.* 6 are identical.

<sup>62</sup> The arithmetic note is discussed in connection with U16, below.

Greek text—written by an indigenous Greek speaker, not by someone just starting to learn a new language. This contradicts Nigel Wilson’s supposition that the Greek text could have been written by a young Pietro Bembo (1470–1547).<sup>63</sup> After a meticulous comparison of letter forms, ligatures, and other characteristics, my conclusion is that also in these quires the Greek is in Theodoros’ hand. The script looks more relaxed, almost heedless; without doubt this was written for personal use. Since the translation was supposed to accompany the Latin words closely, the Greek text became intermittently stretched out and compressed and is not always easily deciphered. Even if the identification of the scribes is not unequivocal, there is another detail which does point to Theodoros as designer of U15: the measurements of the writing area coincide with the justification that Theodoros uses for most of his other units in *Gr* 8.

On account of the appearance of the Greek text, this unit does not seem to be a professional copy. To use the Psalter and other well-known texts, like prayers, was the common way to learn languages, utilized all over Europe during the Middle Ages. But would Theodoros, obviously a well-educated man, really have needed such help with his Latin? It seems unlikely, I think, though it may, of course, have been prepared for somebody close to him or for a pupil. Another possible function of the unit may have been as a model for the practice of *writing* Latin. The humanist style of writing was still novel at this time, so even a professional scribe like Theodoros may have needed to learn it from another expert. The letter headings (Text 81) are the kind of thing that would be helpful for an immigrant just starting out in Italy, someone who needed to find his way among patrons and authorities. It is intriguing to imagine that this could apply to Theodoros himself, leaving Kyzikos or Constantinople for the West, but there is no real evidence to associate the use of the text with him personally. For now we can only speculate around these matters.<sup>64</sup>

#### The quire boundary at Q42–43

There is a blank space at the end of not only Q43 but also of Q42, i.e. in the middle of U15. The blank space following upon the purely Latin text on f. 315<sup>v</sup> was later used for the anonymous Text 78 about “water and earth,” added in Greek by the same person who used f. 87 and the margin of f. 283<sup>v</sup> for extra texts (U2 and U12). As criteria **F** and **G** this should make us aware of a possible boundary here. Also criterion **A**, coinciding text and quire boundaries, is applicable in this place. But this is not enough, the contents and appearance of the two bilingual quires link them closely together. The

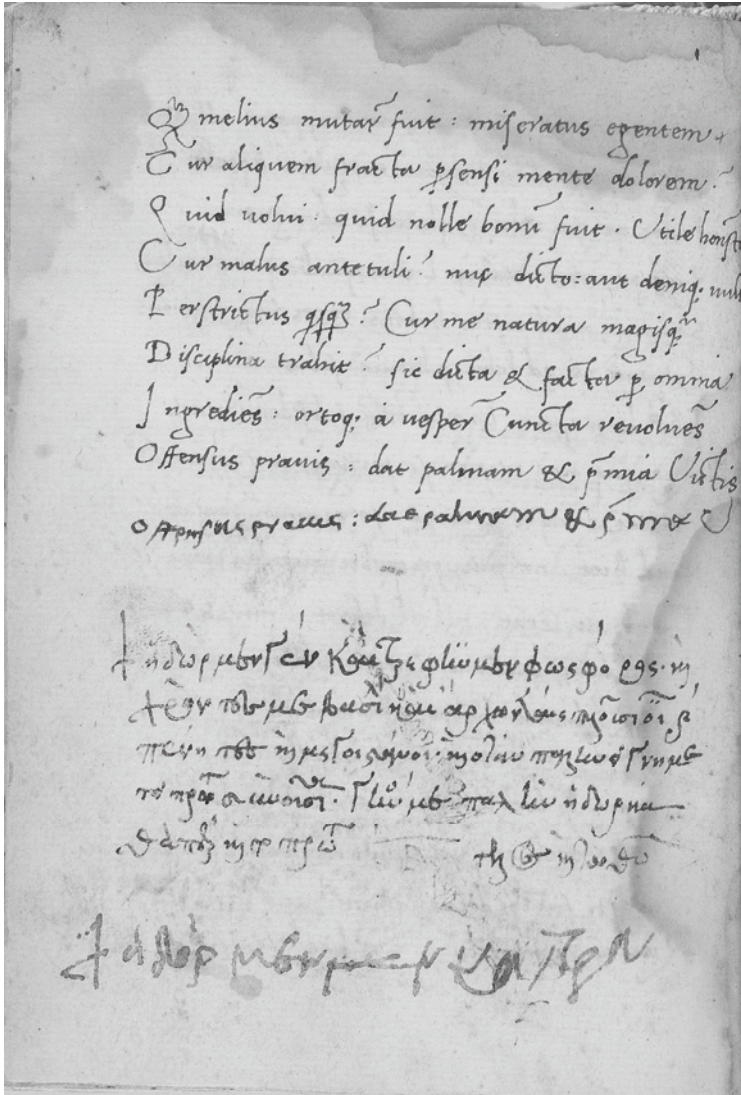
<sup>63</sup> That Bembo could have been the scribe was suggested by Nigel Wilson on his visit to Uppsala University Library in 1998.

<sup>64</sup> See also the discussion of Text 81 in Chapter 5.



writing area of Q43 is admittedly slightly larger, but it still has 9 + 9 lines to the page, and the conclusion must be that the boundary at f. 315 is a subordinate one inside the unit.

In the photo, below, we see first the hand of the Latin co-scribe (latter half of Ausonius' poem), then the secondary layer (the micro-text “ἡδὼρ μὲν γέν”), and last a third layer, someone trying to copy both the last line of the Latin and the initial words of the micro-text).



F. 315<sup>v</sup> (original size). Co-scribe B, writing in Latin. Later notes below.

## Codicological unit 16 (U16), ff. 324–331

**Quires:** Q44: [324–331] quaternion.

**Paper:** Fragment of a watermark on ff. 324 and 331, probably the cord and tassel from a hat.

**Justification:** 96 x 60–63 mm, ca. 20 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros. Black ink except for secondary initials in greyish brown.

**Texts:** Nos. 84–87. Mathematics in two sections with blank pages in-between. Notes and pen trials added in blank spaces. On f. 326<sup>v</sup> in upper margin a date: the trimming of the leaf makes the interpretation ambiguous, but presumably it reads *αφξξ ιουλιου θ'* (July 9 1566).

**Decoration:** No titles. The initials, 1–2 lines in height, are secondary.

**Condition:** This unit is incomplete: on first recto, f. 324<sup>r</sup>, we get thrown right into the middle of a mathematical problem. Also at the end of the unit the mathematical problem lacks its solution, despite the fact that there is blank space left unused. Water damage mostly in upper and inner margins; some wax stains. Outer pages moderately soiled.

**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **B** – quire(s) missing at beginning of unit; **J** – different paper/watermark; **L** – different *mise-en-page*; **O** – change in contents.<sup>65</sup>

**Demarcation traits in relation to ensuing unit:** **A** – text ends at last recto, but is incomplete; **F** – space left open after last text; **G** – scribbles added on last verso.

### Minor additions of various kinds

Despite the trimming, there are some traces left on f. 327<sup>r</sup> of a prayer formula in Theodoros' hand: + *ι(ησο)υ μου βοηθ.. ..υ*. This does put a question mark on one of the criteria for assessing codicological units, as we have them in the list on p. 61. U16, however, is not very regular with its blank pages in the middle and the texts split up into different parts. Perhaps it was copied in different phases or from an incomplete model. Therefore, I tentatively keep prayer formulae as a criterion of unit breaks.

On f. 328<sup>r</sup> there are some pen trials which closely resemble the ones on f. 87<sup>v</sup> (U2): *δοκειμων του κονδηλιου μου και του μελάνιου μου· τέλος και τω θεω δοξα*. Right below someone awkwardly tried to copy the same phrase (*δοκειμων του κονδ*). These inelegant blots of ink are, however, an important clue in establishing the sequence of owners. The latter hand is presumably Kaloianis', the protopapas who put his owner's mark on f. 307<sup>r</sup>. The

<sup>65</sup> The change in contents relates to the main texts of the previous unit. There is in fact a small mathematical excerpt on the last verso of U15, but that issue is dealt with separately (see next page).

sequence of these pen trials proves that the book came into his hands *after* and not before 1546.

Further traces of the “documentary” hand follow on 328<sup>v</sup>. This passage, too, was copied below by yet another reader:<sup>66</sup>

+ ζών κοντάλα ἤλκησεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου σήχυν(ας) φωνάς λέγκουσα πρὸς τὸν ἀρχήμαντρητ(ην)· ἂν θες πάτερ κάτελθε ἐπὶ τοῦ δένδρου ἵνα καγὼ τάπηνὴ πρόσκινίσω σου το μέγα σου κουκούλ(ιν).

A ladle (glutton) pulled an animal up the tree incessantly saying to the archimandrite: if you want, father, come down from the tree, so that humbly I may honor your big cowl.

We see the same contrast between the trained hand and the more halting one on f. 329<sup>r</sup>, where the following saying is written twice:

+ φρόνιμον φίλον ὅς χρίσσον κόλπον βάλε· τὸν δ’ αὖ γε μωρῶν ὥς κακῶν ὄφην φευγεν:–

+ φρονημον φηλον ὡς χρησσον κολπον βαλε· τον δαυγε μερον ὡς κακον οφη

Greet a prudent friend as a pocket full of gold; as for the stupid one, flee him as were he an evil serpent.

A note on the orthography of the second entry: it is obvious that whoever wrote this did it on the basis of the pronunciation instead of giving heed to the exact letters in the model. The second and less able scribe has thus switched *eta/iota* and *omicron/omega* as he pleased. Apparently he also had some trouble deciphering ligatures (like the superscript *omega* in μωρῶν).

## The mathematical note at the end of the preceding unit

An arithmetic problem, or at least the first few lines of it, was added by a reader on f. 323<sup>v</sup>, i.e. on the last verso of U15:

εἰσὶν μῆλοι τρεῖς· καὶ ἀλήθει ὁ εἶς μόδια γ’ τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ὁ ἑτέρος μόδια δ’ καὶ ὁ ἄλ(λ)ος ε’. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω μόδια ιγ’. εἰπέ μοι

As we have seen above, it is common to find lines from the original texts (or from later entries) copied once more, whether it was done as an exercise in writing or just to try out the pen and ink. This does not seem to be the case with the example of the three mills, above, because that problem is not part of the mathematical texts which follow (Texts 84 and 86). But here it may be illuminating to turn to the other manuscript in Theodoros’ hand, *Parisinus*

<sup>66</sup> I am grateful to Dr. John Burke for improving my understanding of this micro-text.

gr. 3045, which also contains a text on arithmetic. On ff. 173<sup>r</sup>–192<sup>r</sup> there is a text of precisely the same character as Texts 84 and 86 in *Gr 8*, in fact, several examples are identical (or just slightly varied in wording). Among the mathematical problems in the Paris manuscript one also finds the one presented here above as an extra, as something a reader may have added.<sup>67</sup> If Theodoros included this problem in another codex, it is not farfetched to imagine that it may have been included in the mathematical text of *Gr 8* too, namely, in the quire which apparently is missing at the outset of U16. Once again, we find how important it is to observe the micro-texts and the later insertions in a manuscript, and not only the larger texts.

## Codicological unit 17 (U17), ff. 332–336

**Quires:** Q45: [332–336] ternion from which the last leaf has been cut out.

**Paper:** Same paper as in the main part of U2, also present in U8–9, U11–12, U14–15. The fragment of a watermark present on f. 332 looks like two thongs of a star.

**Justification:** 108 x 67 mm, 42–49 lines per page.

**Scribe:** Theodoros has here crammed an extreme mass of text into each page.

**Texts:** No. 88a–b, *Life of Aesop* and 58 fables by Aesop. Text incomplete at end.

**Decoration:** One large and ornamented initial, 5 lines in height. Small but elegant initials at the beginning of each fable. All initials are black with tiny dots of gold attached.

**Condition:** Severely damaged by singeing and water. A couple of holes burnt also in text area, mainly on last leaf. The text breaks off in the middle of a sentence on f. 336<sup>v</sup>.

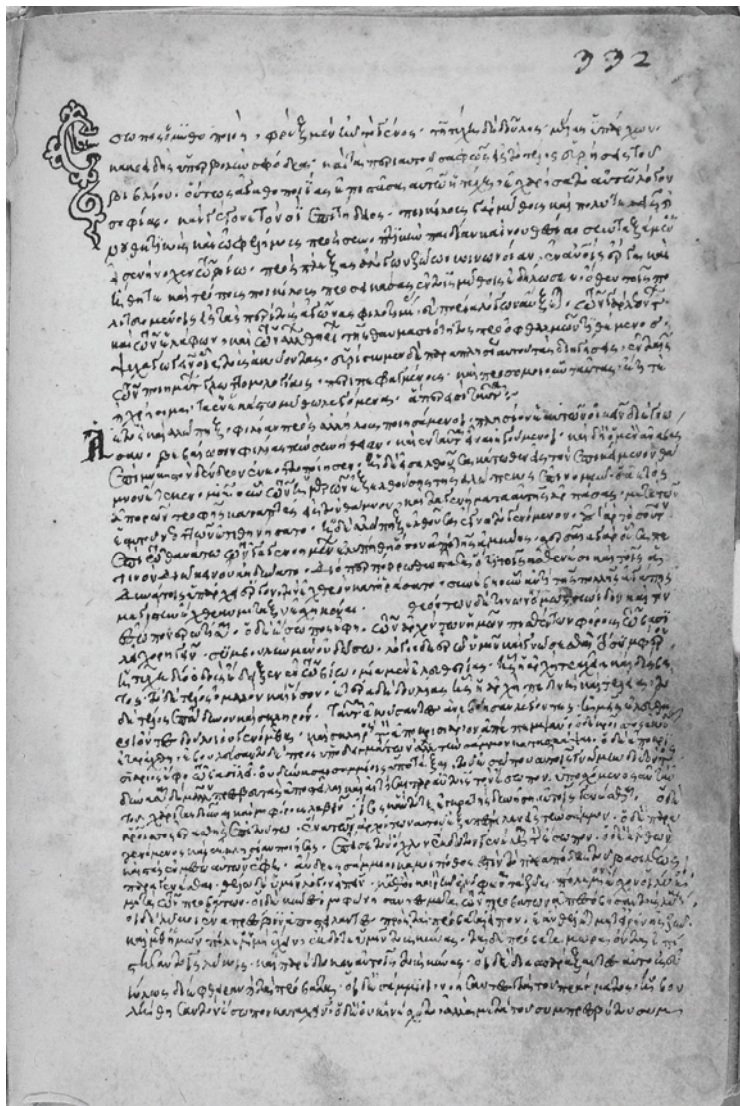
**Demarcation traits in relation to previous unit:** **A** – new text beginning on first recto; **B** – different condition altogether due to burn ; **C** – different quire construction; **J** – different paper/watermark; **L** – different *mise-en-page*; **M** – different style of decoration; **O** – change in contents and genre.

## Aesopian leftovers

Besides being incomplete, due to quire damage and burn, the text transmitted in this unit is a bit odd. On the first twelve lines of f. 332<sup>r</sup> we have the very brief version of Aesop's life called "*Vita III*" (ed. Eberhard). Then comes the first part of fable No. 1. This is interrupted on line 22 by a part of *Vita W* (ed. Westermann). Then, on line 13 of f. 332<sup>v</sup>, we retrieve the second half of

<sup>67</sup> In *Par. gr. 3045* the problem begins on f. 173<sup>v</sup>, mid-page.

fable No. 1, and the rest of the fables follow in sequence. Possibly Theodoros realized that he had made a mistake with the introduction, rewrote it, and kept the mackle paper himself (=U17). This would explain the gilt initials, something which would otherwise hardly be found in a personal copy. In that case, the singing may be unrelated: it could have happened much later, for example in connection with the fire at the library of El Escorial. But there is, of course, also the alternative explanation: that the quire or booklet which he had prepared got accidentally burnt and he managed to save only a few pages.



F. 332<sup>r</sup> (original size). Scribe: Theodoros.

## The composite with all its units

One codex, seventeen units, around ninety “texts,” i.e., catalog items (if we count each letter, each poem and excerpts from separate books, we would end up with a much larger number of texts, more than two hundred altogether. If the sum of all these texts belongs to the complicating factors in assessing the composite book, there is still one counterweight present: one (1) main scribe, Theodoros. *Gr 8* is not a mere *recueil factice*, it has a creator who is sensible to his task. In this chapter I have drawn attention to a number of specific instances where the conscious work of this scribe has made an impact. He is very professional in the planning and execution of his work, he fits the texts into the quires with meticulous organization of the amount of text put into each page. He has apparently rubricated and decorated some of the units himself, but in most units the last finish is wanting. The fact that the book was left in this state, lacking headings and red initials, indicates that it never made it as a commercial product, or that it was not even intended as such.

Moreover, I have suggested that mindful planning is to be detected in the *mise-en-recueil*. In many cases Theodoros has made sure to gather texts of similar character into the same unit, and even taken heed to adjust the page fillers to the preceding subject matter. I will come back to this aspect of textual contents in the next chapter.

There are also connections between units. One factor is the writing material: in eight of the seventeen units (or in 22 quires out of 45) we find the paper carrying the oxhead watermark. These units are thus presumably also connected when it comes to the time of production. That they are scattered throughout the codex instead of having been set together as a group, may suggest that Theodoros sorted the booklets according to contents. At least it was not a question of just unthinkingly piling the texts on to each other until he had enough booklets to bind together.

## The importance of structural analysis

There is more to say about the whole composite and the relation of all the units within, but I will pick that thread up at the end of the next chapter. Here I would like to return to the subject of provenance and Rudberg’s suggestion that *Gr 8* may have originated from Constantinople (cf. p. 24). He put this forward after having investigated the manuscript tradition of the letters by Basil the Great. In the stemmatic grouping of manuscripts, he established a close connection between *Gr 8* and *Parisinus graecus 2991A* (from 1419).<sup>68</sup> Rudberg also referred to Richard Foerster, who had made the

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<sup>68</sup> He states that *Par. gr. 2991A* and *Gr 8* “sont en relation particulièrement étroite. [...] Pour l’essentiel les contenus de ces deux mss s’accordaient, et une collation ultérieure a confirmé plainement la relation qui les unit.” (RUDBERG 1953, 173).

same observation regarding Libanios' letters.<sup>69</sup> Since the *Parisinus 2991A* was known to have been made in Constantinople, he assumed that this would be the case also for *Gr 8*.<sup>70</sup> However, I have checked on the texts which these two manuscripts have in common, and several convey a different picture than do the passages from Basil and Libanios. The texts that would allegedly be identical in both manuscripts are the following (I have divided them into pros and cons in relation to Rudberg's theory):

- |                  |             |   |
|------------------|-------------|---|
| <b>Pros</b>      | Text 43     | Simokates' letters: the two MSS belong to the same group ("familia a" in Zanetto's edition; my collation of <i>Gr 8</i> ). <i>Par. gr. 2991A (P)</i> holds 80 of 81 letters, <i>Gr 8</i> only 20.   |
|                  | Text 45     | List of patriarchs/kings: a longer narrative in <i>P</i> in certain passages (on Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, the Persians, the Romans), but otherwise rather similar. Whereas <i>Gr 8</i> ends with Konstas, <i>P</i> goes on to Michael Komnenos. |
|                  | Texts 67–70 | Letters by Basil and Libanios: <i>P</i> and <i>Gr 8</i> belong to the same group of MSS according to Rudberg and Foerster   |
|                  | Text 71     | Both MSS contain the same two excerpts from Josephus' <i>The Jewish War</i> ( <i>P</i> has further Josephus excerpts).  |
| <br>             |             |   |
| <b>Uncertain</b> | Text 44     | The Decalogue: included in both MSS, but would a professional scribe really need a model for it?  |
|                  | Text 72     | A large lacuna in <i>P</i> , amounting to 34 lines in <i>Gr 8</i> , shows that <i>P</i> could not have been the model for <i>Gr 8</i> for Nikephoros Gregoras' letter unless a leaf from <i>P</i> was lost at a later stage.                  |
| <br>             |             |   |
| <b>Cons</b>      | Text 3      | The selection of Aesopian fables is completely different.   |
|                  | Text 5      | Engelbert Drerup's collation does not indicate a notably close relation between <i>Gr 8</i> and <i>P</i> . <sup>71</sup>  |
|                  | Text 34     | On the eight capital sins, but not at all the same text.  |
|                  | Text 59     | Seven Sages, but not the same persons, different order and partly different wording ( <i>P</i> : Kleoboulos, Pittakos, Solon, Bias, Thales, Menander; <i>Gr 8</i> : Bias, Thales, Kleoboulos, Pittakos,                                       |

<sup>69</sup> Foerster writes about *Gr 8* that *tantopere conspirat, ut si non ex eo descriptus, certo ex eodem exemplari rependus sit* (see RUDBERG, loc. cit.).

<sup>70</sup> Jean Darrouzès holds another view on the origin of *Par. gr. 2991A*, suggesting that it came from the Peloponnese and ended up in a monastery in Chalkidiki, the St. Anastasia Pharmakolytria (DARROUZÈS 1954, 54; for this monastery see GLABINAS 1983; for the homonymous monastery in Constantinople, see JANIN 1969, 26).

<sup>71</sup> Cf. DRERUP 1906, lx–lxii. The recent Isocrates edition by Basil Mandilaras (2003) contributes no further information on these two manuscripts.



Perianthos, Chilon, and Solon).

Text 65 Lists of emperors, but not at all the same wording. *P* has a much more comprehensive text.

The conclusion drawn from this sketch must be that there are definite similarities between the two books, but not to the extent that Rudberg suggested. The crucial point is that the match exists for merely two codicological units in *Gr* 8: U9 and U13.<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, these manifest correspondences shed light on the two “uncertain” texts in the presentation above: the Decalogue, Text 44, probably was part of the parcel which ended up in U9, and in the case of Text 72 (in U13), one may assume that the Paris manuscript later lost one leaf.<sup>73</sup> Thus a reasonable modification of Rudberg’s hypothesis is that Theodoros came across *Par. gr. 2991A* (alternatively a shared model or an intermediate copy), perhaps on the Peloponnese but there is no proof of that. Constantinople seems a less probable alternative, considering the political situation after 1453. It also means that the two manuscripts have only a minor share of texts in common: nine texts or ca. 40 folia in *Gr* 8. This is not much if we look at the respective size of the codices (336 ff. in *Gr* 8; 495 ff. in *Par. gr. 2991A*). A lesson to learn from this comparison is that one should not underestimate the importance of a thorough structural analysis. In combination with the philological scrutiny of textual relationships this can provide us with more accurate results when it comes to the linking of manuscripts.

### The final design

The paper in U13 is of a kind that does not reveal any relation to other units in *Gr* 8, and it is not datable on the basis of watermarks. In U9, however, Theodoros starts out with one kind of paper (probably the same as we have in U7, watermark anchor) and continues with the paper carrying ox-head watermarks. Since Text 43, Simokates’ letters, runs into that quire as well, we may now deduce that the production time for U9 (and thus also U13) should be set around the same period as U2, U8, U10–12, and U14–15 were made.<sup>74</sup> U3–6 stand apart in paper and in decoration. U16 and U17 are

<sup>72</sup> For U13 the match is exceptionally fine, since the texts appear together and in the same order also in *Par. gr. 2991A*. This is not the case with the *Parisinus* texts corresponding to Texts 43–45. If these texts were indeed copied from *Par. gr. 2991A*, then Theodoros must have picked them out here and there in the model manuscript. In that case he was also the one who made the active choice to heavily abridge the list of kings and select only a fourth of the Simokates letters.

<sup>73</sup> Since I have only consulted *Par. gr. 2991A* in a microfilm copy, I cannot confirm what the quires look like.

<sup>74</sup> This assumption is based upon a direct copying of *Gr* 8 from *Par. gr. 2991A*. Further copies in-between would obscure the conjecture.



also loners, having little in common with the other units. Thus one may schematically reconstruct *Gr 8* to consist of the following distinctive parts:

1. Unit providing the table of contents; later addition (U1).
2. Units presumably created some time around 1481; headings and decorations added only occasionally (U2, U7–15).
3. Units perfected to an extent which may point to vending intentions; not dated (U3–6).
4. Unit in a very preliminary state; blank pages in the middle of the text suggest that the scribe may have wished to add more examples to the mathematical text; no date (U16).
5. Unit which was definitely prepared for a client, if we are to judge from the gilt decorations on initials; probably a quire discarded due to faulty copying or damage; no date (U17).

One may now speculate around the reasons for the present sequence of units. In my opinion, the following factors ought to be considered (I now leave U1 aside): U2 at the outset because it is the longest text; U3–6 follow because of their degree of finish and elegance and perhaps due to similar contents in U2 and U3; U7 as a sequel due to similarity with U6 in contents; U8 probably misplaced after switching places with U9; U9 was, I believe, written in sequence with U7. The sequence from the last quire of U9 with U8 and U10–15 to follow may have been the actual production sequence, but of course a swap here and there would not make much difference, the contents being of a similar kind. U13 stands out (different paper, different *mise-en-page*) but, as we saw above, it was probably produced during the same working period. In a way, U15 is even more distinct with its bilingual design and Theodoros' more casual handwriting. U16 and U17, finally, are the least presentable units, the one unfinished, the other in a pitiful state. Even so, the texts were obviously worth keeping. The hierarchy is clear though: Theodoros put the longer texts and the more elaborate units first and the more personal and unassuming units at the end of the codex.



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## 4 The contents of *Gr 8*

### How to assort and categorize (and to what end)

What was split up unit by unit in the previous chapter we will now put together again, as we look at the contents of the whole volume and examine what we may learn from the total combination of texts in *Gr 8*. The aim is to trace whether there is an underlying pattern, a master plan behind the whole volume or if it is more accurate to presuppose the co-existence of several ambitions in the material. To facilitate the investigation, our first concern is to assort the texts according to principles which allow a better overview. When trying to assess the contents of a miscellany, the longer and often well-known texts are usually less of a problem. It is the small, unassuming excerpts and micro-texts which complicate matters. This is why I have decided to account for all texts irrespective of their size. This gives us an opportunity to find connections between textual themes both inside the units and when the texts stand further apart in the codex. At the end of the chapter I will take the discussion back to the codicological units and to the design of the whole book. I will also evaluate the scribe Theodoros' creative contribution in planning the entirety of the book.

Categorizations are never uncomplicated, since a text may be perceived and used in many different ways by different readers at different times: one may feel that the arrangement of texts into genre, theme, or use, narrows the field of possible interpretations. On the other hand, the process of comparison and interpretation of different aspects is an opportunity for us to reconsider old truths and suppositions about Byzantine texts. In the larger handbooks of Byzantine literature, the genres have usually been at the forefront as sorting criterium; literary (or not so literary) works were put into secular and theological compartments, and the works in high style were separated from the so-called *Volksliteratur*.<sup>1</sup> Alexander Kazhdan chose another approach in his literary history, focusing on authorship instead of genre.<sup>2</sup> This is a wholesome complement to the genre-based taxonomy, since a single author may well have been prolific in several genres and more than one level of style and language. It is nonetheless important that we also respect

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<sup>1</sup> So Krumbacher, Hunger, and Beck, among others. Important contributions to the discussion of genres, authorship, and other aspects of vital interest in the quest for a new history of Byzantine literature, are collected in ODORICO & AGAPITOS 2002.

<sup>2</sup> KAZHDAN 1999.

anonymous and fluid texts no less than the ones authored by famous personages.

The reception and use of the texts is another aspect that is often neglected in the compartmentalization according to genres and styles. Just as the concept of a genre changes with every addition of new text, the reception of the texts is never static. With Byzantine books it is sometimes of lesser concern whether a work was originally written in antiquity, in Early-, Middle-, or Late Byzantine times: the fact that these texts are now bound in the same volume regardless of origin makes them “new” in a way, since the context is more or less unique for each codex. It may therefore help to be a bit squint-eyed when studying Byzantine books, keeping one eye on the original setting of the texts and one at the receiving end, the present context. This provides us with means to pursue literary analysis in combination with an assessment of social and cultural aspects of the Byzantine books which transmit the texts.

## Categories of texts in *Gr 8*

A substantial number of textual types or genres are represented in *Gr 8*, depending on how you subdivide and sort them, and it is a challenge to try to find an optimal way of introducing them to the reader. To determine the predominance of any group over another, one would have to take into account both quantity (number of folios, number of texts) and distribution (occurrence in several units). In order to prevent confusion, splitting the reader’s vision unduly by too many small categories, I have decided to bring in all the texts under four—to my mind—fundamental headings: *narrative texts*, *rhetorical texts*, *philosophical-theological texts*, and *practical texts*. Even though this still implies certain overlappings and borderline cases, it has the advantage of elucidating how the texts may have been used and appreciated by the readers (including, of course, the scribe Theodoros himself). Keeping in mind that the function of texts necessarily varies from person to person and from time to time, I admit that my arrangement is tentative. This is why I ask the reader of *my* book to bear in mind that the arrangement of the texts here is momentary, determined by the needs at hand, and is open to rearrangement by anyone who would like to consider these texts from a different perspective.

The categories are not uniform in scope: there is an asymmetry in the use of the traditional notion of genre as opposed to subject matter, structure, mode, and use.<sup>3</sup> The category of “narrative texts” is not commensurable to the category of “rhetorical texts.” In the first case we are dealing with a mode of expression which is present in many different genres; while the

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<sup>3</sup> On concepts of genre, see for example FOWLER 1982, 37–53.

second category is based on a supposition of why or in what setting the texts were produced, and, admittedly, some of these texts incorporate the narrative mode as well. The third category, the philosophical and theological texts, is obviously fashioned from the perspective of subject matter, and the fourth is based on the practical character of much of its contents and/or form. This compositioning of different motives may seem unjudicious. But however we do this, there will still be oversimplifications to consider. The aim of this procedure is to let the groups of texts illuminate each other, and, at best, to arrive at a synthetical view at the end of the chapter, when we consider issues like the *raison(s) d'être* for the book.

I will keep the focus rather strictly on *Gr 8* and only occasionally discuss other manuscripts, either to illustrate the overall transmission of a certain text or to compare the situation in *Gr 8* with manuscripts that may or may not be related to ours. Unless I have reason to call attention to a divergence in readings, attribution, and so forth, I will not mention any data on specific editions of the texts.<sup>4</sup> Following the subtitles I indicate which *Gr 8* texts are treated in each section. If the number is given within parenthesis, this means that the text is mentioned there but treated more thoroughly in another section.

## Narrative texts

*Narrative texts* should here be understood not as a genre, but rather as a mode of representation: the desire to “tell a story,” to convey things which have happened (more rarely, which *will* happen), either in real life or in a person’s imagination.<sup>5</sup> This mode of describing and retelling events can permeate a work more or less completely. The narrative mode decides the form altogether in cases when the presentation of the story, or sequence of connected events, is the intended end result. The alternative situation, when the author uses narrative devices in a text which has as its main purpose something else above and beyond the (mere) story-telling, is likely to be even more frequent—at least that seems to be the case in *Gr 8*. The clean-cut works of story-telling are more easily counted, whereas the number of narratives inside other kinds of texts is considerable.

<sup>4</sup> For information on editions of the texts, see Appendix 2.

<sup>5</sup> Emmanuel Bourbouhakis and Ingela Nilsson define narrative as “*the linguistic representation of an event or a series of events occurring in the past, regardless of whether that past be real or fictional*” (BOURBOUHAKIS & NILSSON, forthcoming). I am grateful to the authors for giving me the opportunity to read their contribution in advance. One may add that the linguistic or literary representation is but one possibility: narratives are also present in Byzantine art, for example in *vita* icons describing a saint’s life in pictures. A study of the narrative in *vita* icons depicting St. Nicholas of Myra is under preparation by Irina Brändén (Uppsala University). On the concept, see also ŠEVČENKO 1999, 150f.

The decidedly narrative genres which we meet with in Byzantine literature are historiography and hagiography, both of which were held in high esteem throughout most Byzantine centuries, and the novel, the interest of which peaked in Komnenian times but also had later advocates in the Palaiologan romances. Smaller formats with story-telling as the major ingredient are, for example, fables, poems, and gnomic forms like *chreiai* and *apophthegmata*.<sup>6</sup> Sometimes these and other miniature narratives are referred to as *progymnasmata*, “fore-exercises” from which one learned how to write, or tell, a story. From their basic role as preparatory exercises in rhetorical education, they eventually became promoted as literary pieces in themselves. We also encounter them as building blocks in larger narratives. In Iskra Gencheva-Mikami’s study of the *Notitia Dignitatum* it is even suggested that lists be included among “narrative” forms.<sup>7</sup> This raises the question of how short a narrative can be and still be recognized as such. Is it up to the reader to decide what is a narrative and what is not? One may at least assume that the shorter the narrative segment, the more important the reader’s previous knowledge becomes; he or she must be able to “fill in” the author’s “blanks.”<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the more autonomous narrative genres mentioned above, we often come across stories inserted into other kinds of texts: narrative as a device in rhetoric, in homiletics, in letters, and in treatises of various kinds, even in arithmetic. Stories provide good reading material, they stir the readers’ imagination and help their memory. No wonder they have been used for teaching as well as for preaching, for persuasion and for sheer entertainment.<sup>9</sup> When we approach Byzantine texts as strangers—most often reading them in a language we have toiled to learn as adults and with half a millennium or more in-between their conception and our comprehension—it is all too easy to forget the joy of reading, the appreciation Byzantine readers must

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<sup>6</sup> Both *chreiai* and *apophthegmata* may be considered anecdotes or maxims. The difference between them is slight, but the former can be taken to include more of a person’s doings and the latter a person’s sayings. On these terms, see SEARBY 2007, I, 3–5.

<sup>7</sup> These thoughts were presented by Gencheva-Mikami in a paper held at the 14<sup>th</sup> Conference of the Australian Association for Byzantine Studies [Byzantine Narrative]. For the abstract, see <http://home.vicnet.net.au/~byzaus/conferences/14th2004/abstracts.html>. The *Notitia Dignitatum* is the administrative listing of all major offices in the (Western as well as Eastern) Roman Empire. In *Gr 8* there are several lists which might be said to carry an inherent narrative: the list of the seven wonders (Text 22), lists of Israelitic, Chaldean, Persian and Assyrian kings (Text 45), lists of patriarchates and metropolises (Text 62); inventors (Text 63); Palaiologan emperors and Ottoman sultans (Text 65). Some of these texts are also discussed below, in the section on practical texts.

<sup>8</sup> Hayden White discusses how the smallest entry in a chronicle (as for example: “Emperor X died and his son Y succeeded to the rule”) contains in embryo the elements of a narrative. The entry serves as a “narreme” since it produces a connection between two events, in fact it is a narrative in itself (WHITE 1987, 14).

<sup>9</sup> On the uses of narrative in different genres of Byzantine literature, see further the articles by Margaret Mullett, Roger Scott, and Ingela Nilsson in BURKE 2006.



have had of not only linguistic form and rhetorical elegance but also of humor, irony, exciting subject matter, intriguing development, intertextual play, et cetera. This is also the reason why I put narrative texts as the first subgroup in *Gr 8*: I use the (by necessity) circumstantial and contingent factor of arranging texts into groups and genres to highlight the fact that many of the texts in the manuscript incorporate appealing stories, even if they superficially may seem to be very different in genre and kind.

## Stephanites and Ichnelates

### Text 3

The first text in *Gr 8* to qualify in the group of narrative texts is *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (Text 3), which also happens to be the longest text in the whole book. The fact that it furthermore stands at the very beginning of the book (only the pinakes from El Escorial precede it), gives this text a distinctive weight in the process of assessing what kind of book *Gr 8* is, or could have been appreciated as, at the time of its formation. A codex which was made up of several texts would in medieval times often be recognized and labeled by its first major item. Likewise, our codex has the marking “INΔΙΚΑ” on its fore edge, a label which can only refer to the *Stephanites and Ichnelates* and is inappropriate for the rest of the texts. Although this narrative work constitutes a separate codicological unit within the codex, it should be seen as a vital part of the whole book instead of merely a later addition to the composite; as we saw in the preceding chapter, the writing material connects it to several of the other codicological units (the same kind of paper, with the “oxhead” watermark, is present there as well). It remains to be shown how this fits in with the rest of the contents.

*Stephanites and Ichnelates* is not a Byzantine work in origin, but it became one of the more popular narrative works in its Greek translation, just as it became a success in many other translations and adaptations throughout the Middle Ages and up until modern times. All the good stories within the work must have played a major part in this winning recipe. The history of the work starts with a core of Indian tales from the *Pançatantra*, itself a famous piece of wisdom literature which proffers fable stories with the aim of teaching *niti*, i.e., policy, social order, and prudence to prospective rulers.<sup>10</sup> In the sixth century, Burzōy, who was a physician at the Sasanid court of Khosrow I, put together the work *Karīrag ud Damanag*, drawing on the *Pançatantra* but also adding Persian components. The various fables, which in the Sanskrit versions were relatively autonomous, often combined in a Chinese box technique, were now knit more closely together through a new, seemingly autobiographical, frame story about Burzōy’s life and religious

<sup>10</sup> The Sanskrit original, now lost, was written sometime between the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE and the 5<sup>th</sup> c. CE.

development and about his voyage to India. This Pahlavī (Middle Persian) work has not survived, but can be reasonably well reconstructed on the basis of the Old Syriac and Arabic translations.<sup>11</sup>

Most of the later translations, including the Greek ones, were directly or indirectly made from the Arabic version, the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah*. The Arabic editor Ibn al-Muqaffa' (ca. 720–ca. 756) chose to include yet another frame story or prologue and four more chapters of fables, two of Indian and two of unknown origin. In that form, with three prolegomena and fifteen chapters of fable stories (where the cast ranges from animals to wise men and travelers), the *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* reached the Byzantine readers. The Greek title is a kind of folk etymological translation, by which the two jackals and leading characters Kalīlah and Dimnah got Greek-sounding names.

The Byzantine transmission of *Kalīlah wa-Dimnah* is not altogether straightforward. According to Johannes Niehoff-Panagiotidis, the Arabic text was translated into Byzantine Greek on four occasions.<sup>12</sup> The earliest translation is the least known, since we only have a few folia left of it in a manuscript which used to belong to the Basilian monastery in Grottaferrata. This manuscript, *New York Pierpont Morgan M. 397*, also contains a version of the Aesop Romance, a collection of Aesopian fables, the fables of Babrios and the *Physiologos*.<sup>13</sup> The next effort of translation was made by Symeon Seth, a physician from Antioch, who dedicated his work to the emperor Alexios I Komnenos, a circumstance that would date the work to around 1085.<sup>14</sup> It was Symeon Seth who minted the Greek title *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. He wrote in a very polished Byzantine koine with the Komnenian court as his primary audience, and he also endeavored to make his version comply with the genre expectations of ancient Greek fable epics: he transposed oriental-sounding names and titles into Greek, adapted the storytelling to the Aesopian tradition and incorporated citations and reminiscences from classical Greek authors, from the Bible, from patristic and Byzantine literature.

Though obviously well-suited as a prince's mirror, *Stephanites and Ichnelates* won an audience outside of court circles as well, and was soon revised into a little less sophisticated koine. Two translators, working independently

<sup>11</sup> For the early stages of the work, see DE BLOIS 1990, 1–11.

<sup>12</sup> For an overview of the Greek translations and their relationship to each other, see NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS 2003, 34–47.

<sup>13</sup> As for the time of translation, the only safe assumption is that a certain period of time must have passed between the time of the original translation and the time when the Pierpont Morgan manuscript was copied. Elinor Husselman dates the manuscript to between 980 and 1050, and adds that “[i]t should be noted that the Greek contains several mistakes which cannot well have been in the original. Therefore the Morgan manuscript cannot be the first copy of the translation from the Arabic” (HUSSELMAN 1939, 6–7 and 14).

<sup>14</sup> The dedication is transmitted in the oldest manuscript, *Codex Laurentianus XI 14* (12<sup>th</sup> c.). The different recensions and subrecensions of the manuscript transmission have been touched upon above, p. 75.

of each other, added translations of other parts of the Arabic text, parts which Symeon Seth had chosen to abridge or exclude. One of these translations can be traced back to Eugenios of Palermo, if not as translator so at least as curator for the work, in the late twelfth century; the other translation was probably produced in the East, since in its least contaminated form it has survived in a Church Slavonic translation.<sup>15</sup> What happened later was that these two versions were combined so as to form a full translation of the Arabic original, and a closer one at that, since the ambition of Symeon Seth to “Hellenize” the work was by now absent. This is the kind of full-fledged story assemblage we meet with in *Gr 8*.

*Stephanites and Ichneutes* has been labeled “popular literature” (Volks-literatur) in the handbooks on Byzantine literature.<sup>16</sup> In a more recent handbook, however, Jan Olof Rosenqvist presents a more cautious view: he stresses that the language form and style do not justify categorizing the work as popular.<sup>17</sup> To characterize it as popular literature is certainly problematic, considering the fact that the story was translated and adapted at court, dedicated to the emperor, and was spread and read mainly in the educated stratum of Byzantine society. It is only in the light of later developments that the estimation is comprehensible: the fact that these fables got an afterlife in so many languages and revisions and eventually ended up in many a reading primer in schools, might have colored our perception of the earlier phases of reception as well. According to Hélène Condylis-Bassoukos’ investigation of the manuscript tradition, the *Stephanites and Ichneutes* is often found in close connection with other fable collections, with moralizing and philosophical works, with medical works, and with bestiaries. The conclusion she draws is that the work “se trouve lié tour à tour à des familles de textes différents; il peut donc être considéré de différentes manières.”<sup>18</sup> Even though it is hard to fathom why “bestiaries” are mentioned separately—as moralizing fable literature it ought to be well covered by the preceding categories—her conclusion can nevertheless be seen to correspond with the project of making sense of *Gr 8* as a book.

<sup>15</sup> On the recensions Bδ (the “Eastern” translation) and Bε (the *recensio Eugeniana*), see NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS 2003, 39–45. In addition to the Church Slavonic translation, the Byzantine *Stephanites and Ichneutes* stood model to one Italian and one Latin version and also to paraphrases into modern Greek. Theodosios Zygomalas, who was the protonotary of the patriarchate in Constantinople, produced one of these, in 1584. Another one, from 1721, was written by the physician Demetrios Prokopios at the request of the Phanariote prince (hospodar) of Walachia, Johannes Nikolaos Alexandros Mavrokordatos (SJÖBERG 1962, 133).

<sup>16</sup> BECK 1971, 41–45; MAZAL 1989, 144f.

<sup>17</sup> ROSENQVIST 2007, 110f. Rosenqvist’s reference is to Symeon Seth’s version, admittedly the most polished one; other versions followed, and especially with the sixteenth-century paraphrases into Modern Greek the *Hochsprachlichkeit* of the work was no longer an issue.

<sup>18</sup> CONDYLIS-BASSOUKOS 1997, xxviii.

## Further fable stories and fictitious biographies

Texts 7, (8–9), (43), 88

Let us proceed to look at some of the other texts which have something in common with the *Stephanites and Ichnelates*. In its present state, *Gr 8* displays another set of fable stories at its very end: the *Life of Aesop* together with a collection of Aesopian fables (Text 88). This would, from the point of view of its contents, seem to give the book a very neat closure. The original order of the texts in *Gr 8* could have been different, though: the earliest reference to the manuscript in an inventory indicates that the Aesop fables were placed after the “*Epistolae Basilii e aliorum*” (Texts 67–72), but *before* the lists of patriarchates and metropolises (Text 62 in *Gr 8*).<sup>19</sup>

The *Life of Aesop* has been described as a fictional biography with elements of the comic-realistic novel, something which would put the work in the same category as, for example, the *Alexander Romance* and the *Life of Apollonios from Tyana*.<sup>20</sup> Composed sometime in the late Hellenistic or early Imperial period,<sup>21</sup> the work mingles oriental influences from *The Story of Ahiqar* with ancient Greek legends about “the anti-hero and trickster Aesop, the prototype of the Cynic sage.”<sup>22</sup> In *Gr 8*, The *Life of Aesop* is presented in a very abbreviated version; perhaps one should rather see it as an *hypothesis*, since it amounts to less than 150 words.<sup>23</sup> If the short version sufficed, one may assume that the readers were already acquainted with the story and thus able to recall the more substantial narrative from a few data, or rather argue that the fables were, after all, the most important part of the narrative, mak-

<sup>19</sup> See BEER 1903, xcii (N° 160 c 1). The inventory description is far from complete in its account of the items in *Gr 8*. Therefore it is not unambiguously clear whether one should rely on it or rather assume that the note on the patriarchates and metropolises was put in lastly, as an extra piece of information, regardless of its place in the book. There seems to be yet another alteration of the sequence of texts compared to today’s: in the inventory Text 24 (Plethon’s *Reply to George Scholarios’ defense of Aristotle*) is introduced *after* Text 25 and 26 (the letters from Bessarion and Nicolas Sagundino), but this sequence, 25–26–24, is physically impossible, since the three items are written in a sequence inside one and the same quire. If, nevertheless, we should take the inventory at face value regarding the placement of Text 88 (Aesop), the reason for moving it was most likely due to its condition. Being a small, even incomplete unit (about half a quire), and badly damaged by singeing at that, it certainly stands out from the rest of the book. The page layout, jammed with minute script, also makes its appearance less compatible with the other units, something which could have contributed to the placement of it at the end of the book.

<sup>20</sup> See Grammatiki Karla’s summary of the recent genre discussion around the *Life of Aesop* (KARLA 2001, 1–3).

<sup>21</sup> The date of composition is still unclear; cf. KARLA 2001, 8, with further references.

<sup>22</sup> WEST 2003, 428.

<sup>23</sup> This is the text that Albert Eberhard presented as “*Vita III*” (EBERHARD 1872, 309f.). Ben Perry calls it a “short preface,” and states that its origin comes from the lost archetype (λ) of manuscripts LFV (*Leiden Vulc.* 93, 15<sup>th</sup> c.; *Flor. Laur.* LVII, 30, 16<sup>th</sup> c.; *Vat. gr.* 695, 14–15<sup>th</sup> c.). According to Perry, this “λ” manuscript was probably written in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> c., perhaps in Southern Italy or Sicily (PERRY 1933, 214f.). Cf. also PERRY 1952, 212–213, where the text is placed among the *vitae minores* under the label “Testimonium 1a.”

ing the frame story second priority.<sup>24</sup> In either case, a few brief facts of Aesop's life remain, together with an introduction to his storytelling, explaining how the fables are cunningly wrought, precious, useful, and edifying.

After the introductory *hypothesis* fifty-nine fables follow. They are arranged alphabetically, from the story of the eagle and the fox (ἀετός καὶ ἄλώπηξ), to the story of the aging lion (λέων γηράσας). The last one is incomplete, breaking off because of the quire damage in U17, and we may draw the conclusion that originally the sequence was supposed to continue with more fables, arranged from *lambda* to the end of the alphabet.<sup>25</sup> As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, there is another incongruity in Text 91: after the initial *Vita III* there is a short passage from *Vita W*, i.e. the so-called Westermann recension, inserted right in the middle of the first fable.<sup>26</sup> This passage tells about Aesop's stay at Samos, and how he helped the Samians in their relation to King Kroisos. He does so not by explicitly telling them or the king how to act, but by relating parables and fables which they in their turn have to interpret. Thus another two fables are inserted inside this passage of the *Life*: the stories on the war between the wolves and sheep, and the poor man and the cicada (Aes. *Fab.* 158 and 298, ed. Hausrath).<sup>27</sup> The intriguing Chinese box technique which characterizes *Stephanites and Ichnelates* is present here as well, even if it also happened to be enhanced by mistake: placing the extract from *Vita W* inside the story of the eagle and the fox was probably due to confusion of leaves in a model manuscript somewhere.<sup>28</sup>

Turning to fables as an ingredient in other kinds of texts, there is reason to bring in a text in *Gr 8* which might easily be overlooked in a quest for narrative texts. Gregory of Nazianzos' letter to Keleusios (*Ep.* 114; Text 7) is an appealing example of the incorporation of a fable:<sup>29</sup> on the subject of loquacity and taciturnity Gregory tells the story about the swallows who ridiculed the swans for not wanting to be around people and not singing except among themselves. Inside this fable, he includes a very compressed narrative, giving the whole story of Philomela's rape by merely mentioning names, places, and a few keywords:

<sup>24</sup> It was apparently not unusual to copy the Aesopian *Fables* without including the *Life*: Perry states that from the 12<sup>th</sup> c. onwards, "[i]f a scribe decided to include the *Life* at all, he chose either the Westermann recension or [...] the brief notice about Aesop ascribed to Aphthonius" (PERRY 1936, 26). The so-called *Vita III* is an imitation of the Aphthonian preface (PERRY 1933, 215).

<sup>25</sup> The fables, numbered according to Hausrath's edition, are listed in Appendix 2 (HAUSRATH & HUNGER 1956 and 1970).

<sup>26</sup> *Vit. Aes.* 93–100 (inc. ὅμως συνεῖδον καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον; expl. νῦν ἀναγινωσκομένους κατέλυτε).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. HAUSRATH & HUNGER 1970, 185 and 1956, 107f.

<sup>28</sup> On the narrative structure of the *Life of Aesop* at large, see HOLZBERG 1992.

<sup>29</sup> In *Gr 8* the attribution of the letter is "from Basil the Great to a certain Gregory but not the Great" (f. 98<sup>v</sup>–99<sup>r</sup>). Thus, even if our scribe Theodoros did not read the text as authored by Gregory of Nazianzos, he at least reckoned it to be by another church father.

Pandion, Athens, Tereus, Thrace, the journey, the grief, the violence, the mutilation, the (woven) message, and, on top of it all, Itys and how we became birds instead of people.

A story as condensed as this would obviously not succeed unless it brought up very familiar stories or anecdotes. This, however, is quite characteristic of the literary culture of late antiquity and Byzantium, with its long tradition of passing on a common treasure of story-telling. This telling and retelling of stories was a dynamic process, which many Byzantine authors and compilers ventured to refine and excel in. Gregory of Nazianzos' story is a good example of such literary adaptation. Gregory not only seizes the opportunity to remind us of the Philomela story, but he also gives the legend a further twist, simply by putting it in the mouths/beaks of the swallows: according to the legend—which every reader would have been aware of—Philomela herself was transformed into a silent swallow.<sup>30</sup> To the swallows' accusations Gregory has the swans give their retort, and as a final point he ends his letter with the plea that Keleusios stop badgering him about being quiet, since “the swans will sing when the jackdaws fall silent.”<sup>31</sup>

Another form of narrative may be found in fictional letters and epistolary novels. Of these we have some representatives in *Gr 8* as well: the suite of eight letters attributed to Anacharsis (Text 9); three Hippocratean letters out of the so-called “Persian” epistolary novel (Text 8); a considerable number of Theophylact Simokates' letters, also fictitious (Text 43).<sup>32</sup> I discuss these items below within the category of rhetorical texts.

## Historical narratives

Texts (20), 21, 42, 49, (51), 64, 71

<sup>30</sup> Sophocles made use of the story in his play *Tereus* (*TrGF*, IV, 581–595b); it is also retold by Achilles Tatius in the novel *Leucippe and Cleitophon* (Ach. Tat. *Leuc.* 5.4–5.6). Ovid's Latin version in the *Metamorphoses* (Ov. *Met.* 6. 424–674) has made a lasting impact on European literature, not least through reuse of the story by Chaucer, Shakespeare, and others.

<sup>31</sup> Paul Gallay's edition renders the last sentence of the swans' riposte as a rhetorical question: ἔπειτά ἐστε λαλίστεραι τίνοζ οὐχὶ τῶν εὐγλώττων καὶ μουσικῶν; The wording of *Gr 8* “ἐστε λαλίστεραί τινες,” might be preferable (“and then you turn out being chatterboxes, although not even eloquent and harmonious”).

<sup>32</sup> Whole fables are incorporated also in two of Simokates' letters (Text 43): in Simoc. *Ep.* 34 the subject is moderation, σωφροσύνη: why concern ourselves with riches and physical matter, when our borrowed plumes are stripped off in death? This moral is illustrated with the story about how the birds once went to Zeus and asked him to give them a king. He ordered them to wash themselves to reveal their beauty—or lack thereof; the most beautiful would become king. The jackdaw could not compete, and chose to simulate what nature had refused him by embellishing himself with feathers not his own, but the owl recognized his own feathers and exposed the fraud (cf. Aes. *Fab.* 103). A variant tradition of this fable is included in *Stephanites and Ichneutes* chapter IV (Of the Owls and the Crows), but here it is the crow who vilifies the owls, calling them the ugliest and dirtiest of birds. This chapter is included in

There is a certain permeability between forms like letters and prose fiction: letters are used within fictional narratives (for example in the ancient and Byzantine novels), just as narrative is used within fictitious (and real) letters.<sup>33</sup> This is also the case with historiography, where speeches and letters are often interwoven in the narrative. Consequently, overlappings are common between these and other genres. The investigation of a multifaceted book like *Gr 8* becomes a wholesome reminder of the fluid borders between different kinds of texts. Literature is more compound and intricate than our attempts at organizing it into the pigeon-holes of construed systems of genre would allow. As a case in point we may look at the selection of excerpts from John Tzetzes' *Chiliades* ("Thousands") or *Book of Histories* (Text 42).<sup>34</sup> The short historical or mythological episodes in the *Chiliades* function as a commentary to Tzetzes' own collection of letters; these letters were in turn addressed to fictitious persons as well as to his contemporaries. Before Tzetzes was done, the learned commentary had swelled into more than 12.000 lines of political verse, a somewhat impractical format, which did not help the distribution of this book either in the author's own time, or later. What we have here in the form of a commentary is thus a poem, *and* a history book, *and* an etymological handbook, *and* an antiquarian collection of this and that and everything else. At the same time there are important stories transmitted here. To take one example only: in *Chil.* I, 3, Tzetzes tells us about Gyges who became king of Lydia, and in just a few lines he manages to remind us first of the version where the shepherd Gyges found a bronze horse with a corpse in it; on its finger the corpse had a ring which could render its master invisible. Gyges used the ring to kill King Kandaules and seize power.<sup>35</sup> Then Tzetzes narrates Herodotos' version: King Kandaules who had a very beautiful wife insisted that Gyges see her undress; she noticed this and gave Gyges the choice of either murdering her husband and taking his place or being killed himself.<sup>36</sup> Not content with reiterating these two versions, Tzetzes proceeds with an allegorical interpretation of the first version, thus giving us yet another "renarrativization" of the story.

Two passages drawn from Josephus' history on the *Jewish War* are included in *Gr 8* (Text 71). These are selected so that there is little information on the historical framework and the situation at large; what the excerptor has

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*Gr 8*, ff. 52<sup>v</sup>–62. Simoc. *Ep.* 61 brings in the fable of the ant and the cicada (cf. Aes. *Fab.* 114). On Theophylact Simokates' letters in *Gr 8*, see also below, p. 144.

<sup>33</sup> On letters embedded in novels, see ROSENMEYER 2001, 133–168.

<sup>34</sup> John Tzetzes (ca. 1110–ca. 1180) was a poet and grammarian who belonged to the group of professional literati which had connections to the imperial court at Constantinople (as did for example Constantine Manasses, by whom we also have a text in *Gr 8* (Text 38)). Among other tasks, Tzetzes was entrusted with introducing Empress Eirene (Bertha von Sulzbach) to ancient Greek literature, and especially to Homer (HUNGER 1978, II, 60). On the literary life in 12<sup>th</sup>-c. Constantinople, see MULLETT 1984; MAGDALINO 1993, 382–412.

<sup>35</sup> This version is given by Plato in *The Republic* (Pl. *R.* 359d–360d).

<sup>36</sup> Hdt. I, 8–13.

bestowed us with are two speeches (*BJ* 3, 472–484 and 361–382). The first passage presents a situation where the emperor Titus realizes that the enemies gathering outside the walls of Tarichaeae so outnumber the Roman army that it ought to be impossible to win. Nonetheless, Titus makes this exhortatory speech to urge on his subordinates. The other passage is Josephus' argument against suicide in a situation of total defeat: Jotapata, the besieged town which they have defended, has fallen, and Josephus and his men can now either kill themselves or surrender themselves to the Romans. The parallel of the recently experienced siege and fall of the Byzantine capital in 1453 inevitably presents itself. A reminder may, however, be in place: this last and fatal blow had been preluded by many earlier sieges, several of which the Byzantines had withstood and some not.<sup>37</sup> Thus, the two excerpts may originally have been selected and combined by reason of other harsh circumstances. Whether or not the two excerpts are unique for *Gr 8* or rather a common choice from Josephus' work, this need not prevent our idea of actualization: even if a prior excerptor may have had another occasion in mind than the one furthered by Mehmet II, the situation which Theodoros and his contemporaries had lived through would certainly have made the message in Josephus' speeches ever so urgent again.

Two more texts go well together with Josephus' speeches on a conquered and ruined city: Manuel Christonymos' lament on the fall of Constantinople (Text 20) and Michael Choniates' elegy on Athens as he saw it in the early thirteenth century (Text 51). These, however, will be dealt with in the next section.

Another fifteenth-century text which comments on contemporary circumstances is Leonardo Bruni Aretino's treatise on the constitution of Florence (Text 21).<sup>38</sup> That Bruni chose to write it in Greek was probably brought about by the occasion of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where the Byzantine delegation included a significant number of distinguished and learned men (Emperor John VIII, Patriarch Joseph II, George Gemistos Plethon, Cardinal Bessarion, Mark Eugenikos, and George Scholarios, to mention the most prominent). Bruni took the opportunity to present himself and his city state in the language of the visitors. In 1439 he had just finished his Latin

<sup>37</sup> Stephen Turnbull discusses ten major sieges of Constantinople (TURNBULL 2004, 47–57). Other sources mention as many as twenty-five to thirty; see for example DE LAMARTINE 1857, 107; these figures are probably somewhat inflated, if we consider that six of the twenty-nine sieges enumerated by Joseph von Hammer took place before 315 CE (HAMMER 1827, 552 and 674–675).

<sup>38</sup> Leonardo Bruni Aretino (ca. 1370–1444) was the Chancellor of Florence and an important promoter of the study of Greek literature in the West through his many translations to Latin of classical Greek works. As an author, he is perhaps best known for his *History of Florence*, but he also contributed to the circulation of Italian poetry through his biographies over Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Bruni has often been bestowed the epithet of “first modern historian” (problematised by IANZITI 1997). For a modern edition of *The Constitution of Florence*, see MOULAKIS 1986.



translation of Aristotle's *Politics*, and the influence of this work (especially Book Four) is evident in *The Constitution of Florence*.<sup>39</sup> The autograph version is not extant, but there are enough copies to suggest that the work had a considerable dissemination in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One of the manuscripts has marginal notes and corrections in the handwriting of George Gemistos Plethon (*Ven. Marc. gr. Z. 406*).<sup>40</sup>

In addition to these elaborate pieces of narrative, there are also some more unpolished and terse texts which convey historical information, in the form of lists and so-called short chronicles. I will mention two of these here, although they would also fit very well in the section on "practical texts," discussed below. "68 years after the Trojan war Homer was born. From Homer's birth until Xerxes' crossing [of the Hellespont] 622 years went by." This is the whole extent of Text 49. Not much, I admit, but these micro-texts were there for a purpose. The scribe could have chosen to fill the last two lines of a page with decorations, but instead—and especially so in personal miscellanies such as Theodoros'—one made use of every single blank space to keep memorable information, adages, and other minimal items. Text 64 is another short chronicle, a world history painted in broad strokes:

From Adam until the Flood 2242 years went by. And from the Flood until the hundred years of Abraham, 1569 years. And from Abraham until the exodus of Israel's sons, 405 years. And from Moses until the Zedekiah's siege [of Jerusalem], 1076 years. And from Zedekiah until Augustus, the emperor, during whose reign our Lord Jesus Christ was born, 608 years. All in all, from Adam until Christ, 5500 years. And from the birth of Christ until Constantine the Great, the holy king of the Christians, 296 years. And from the first year of Constantine the Great until the great Justinian, 224 years.<sup>41</sup>

Stories are told and a range of narrative devices are employed more or less everywhere in *Gr 8*, regardless of what genre definition we allot to the separate items, and I could go on relating texts which display a high degree of narrativity, if it were not for the fact that there are other aspects of the manuscript to consider. Some of the narrative pieces will end up in the other groups in this chapter: speeches and poems, for example, would in many

<sup>39</sup> MOULAKIS 1986, 147.

<sup>40</sup> According to Athanasios Moulakis, *Gr 8* and *Vat. pal. gr. 146* both depend on *Monac. gr. 170* (stemma on p. 173). In his edition he has used *Gr 8* only for lines 73–111, where *Monac. gr. 170* has a lacuna. But there is a problem with the dates: Moulakis states that the Munich manuscript is from the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (as does the old library catalog by Hardt). As we are dealing with a composite manuscript, the leaves with Bruni's text may of course be of earlier date than the rest of the volume. To keep the stemma as it is, we thus need to assume either an earlier date than the 16<sup>th</sup> c. for the Monacensis text, or else a connection between that manuscript and *Gr 8* by way of a common model. The dating of *Vat. pal. gr. 146* (also composite) is of no help, as Moulakis only states that "[t]he works, though not necessarily the copies in this codex, date from the XIV<sup>th</sup>, XV<sup>th</sup> and XVI<sup>th</sup> centuries" (MOULAKIS 1986, 165).

<sup>41</sup> For the Greek texts, see Appendix 1.

cases have qualified excellently, but in their case I have looked at functions besides story-telling.

All in all, the narrative works should be seen as an important feature of *Gr 8* when considering the overall character of the book. They certainly contribute to making the book an enjoyable piece of reading. What enhances their importance is the fact that the longest narrative text (*Stephanites* in U2) and also several shorter ones (many of the letters in U3) stand at the front of the book. But they also come intermingled with many other kinds of texts: reasoning texts mainly on philosophical and theological subjects, texts useful for practical reasons, and texts where the narrativity is but one trait and possibly not the most important factor for the compiler when he made his selection. To these other kinds of texts we will now procede.

## Rhetorical texts

Most texts in this category display an obvious awareness of rhetorical form and epideictic chiselling of expression. Not that rhetorical training is absent from the other texts in the codex; there are examples among both narrative and philosophical texts which could have fit into this category as well. But in the categorization of texts in *Gr 8* my lodestar has been the *function* of the texts: what need did the texts serve for the compiler? Rhetorical training was crucial in Byzantium. If you had rhetorical techniques in your toolbox (in addition to a good portion of classical erudition) and knew how to make efficient use of them, they could open doors to a career, a position in the bureaucracy, they could help you become someone of importance whether in secular or ecclesiastical circles. The writing of letters, for example, was after all “the major activity of the bureaucracy,” as George Kennedy puts it.<sup>42</sup> Oral performance must also have been part of what one prepared for. In addition, the rhetorical excercises and display pieces had become a learned game which one played alone or in the company of equally well educated friends and colleagues.<sup>43</sup>

Nowadays, we tend to see rhetoric as an analytical tool. Not so in late antiquity and in Byzantium: there it was first and foremost a creative-didactic method. And this is, in my opinion, the underlying rationale of the selection of many texts which ended up in *Gr 8*. Normally, Byzantine rhetorical instruction was based upon the textbooks of Hermogenes and Aphthonios—at least from the transmission in manuscripts it seems that these two dominated

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<sup>42</sup> KENNEDY 1983, 71.

<sup>43</sup> After 1453 the career paths for Greeks were not self-evident, whether they stayed in Ottoman-ruled areas or moved westwards, but in many professions rhetorical skills would still have been considered an asset. On the place and importance of Greek rhetorics after the fall of Constantinople, see CONLEY 2000.

the market.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the rules were more or less set: everyone had to work one's way through the *progymnasmata* (the exercises of fables, elaborations of proverbs, refutations and confirmations of a statement, and encomia, to just mention some of the kinds).<sup>45</sup> Just as one had to become skilled at the old, and in reality extinct, version of Attic Greek, one also had to emulate the rhetors of the past, using examples such as Isocrates, Libanios, and the Cappadocians as models.

The educational situation was the foundation, but rhetoric became more important than that. Out of these exercises were created new forms and genres, literary pastimes as well as significant works. Even though, as is often said, the only rhetorical genus that survived and flourished in Byzantium was the epideictic (display), it could be pursued in various manners. Rhetoric was never "empty." These works, whether speeches of praise (and blame), laments over cities lost, or letters of different kinds, had a role to play in Byzantine society. A letter was not just a personal affair, it would probably be read aloud, and especially so if one had managed to set the accurate level of discourse; a subtle display of learning was never wrong if it was done with grace. It showed that one belonged to the educated few and it offered delight to the reader who could decipher the common code.

The texts from *Gr 8* that will be considered here are on the one hand some oratory works and poems, on the other hand letters of different kinds: fictitious, personal, literary, instructive, there is a variety to choose from. The epistolographic section is rich, all in all there are some seventy letters in the codex. As a consequence, the discussion of these will dominate the survey. But first a few words on the other rhetorical genres.

## Oratory

Texts (5), 20, 27, 28, 55, (71), 72

Depending on the subject matter, oratory works may variously be described as, e.g., speeches, sermons, and laments. The variation in *Gr 8* is analogous. Two texts are defined as "λόγος," speech; two as "δημηγορία," deliberative (or just public) speech; one is a "μονωδία," literally a solo song although the term later came to signify a lament; one has an abbreviated heading: "by Libanios concerning a garrulous woman"; one lacks its heading in the manuscript, and another is transmitted as a letter (ἐπιστολή Γρηγοῦ πρὸς ...).

Text 5, Isocrates' *Oration 1* (Λόγος Ἰσοκράτους πρὸς Δημόνικον), displays rather few signs of actually being a "speech." At least it seems to have been produced as a written discourse, sent by Isocrates as a gift to Demoni-

<sup>44</sup> Cf. KUSTAS 1973, 9f. New rhetorical manuals were added as well: George Gemistos Plethon and John Argyropoulos, for example, wrote their own treatises on rhetoric in the 15<sup>th</sup> c. (MONFASANI 1983, 255).

<sup>45</sup> On *progymnasmata*, see, for example, KENNEDY 1983, 54–73.

cus, for him to read.<sup>46</sup> This ambiguity between written and oral is present in other texts as well. Since it was common to read texts aloud, the distinction is perhaps less of a problem. One and the same text could also have been performed publicly at one point, and been distributed for circulation as a text later, as in the case of Libanios' speech. The subject matter of Isocrates' speech makes it expedient to postpone the discussion of it until later, in connection with the practical texts.

Libanios' *Declamation* 26 (Text 27) is an exhibition of forensic speech as it was practiced in the old days, in Athens.<sup>47</sup> Libanios presents the case of a husband making an appeal to the court to rid himself of his unendurable wife. In Byzantium this imaginary speech was the most popular of all of Libanios' declamations.<sup>48</sup> The main characters could have been picked from New Comedy, and Libanios' handling of the subject makes the piece a kind of literary stand-up comedy. An interesting detail in the description of the wife is that she is not only talkative (in her husband's opinion, that is), she is obviously also an educated woman, who makes encomia and orations, she studies during the night, is interested in matters of the city, the army, the businesses in town, et cetera. This is not the role in which we are used to picture women in antiquity. The comical part is that the old grump just goes on and on describing his wife and her loquaciousness. His whole statement in front of the jury is one long tirade (which he has opened by declaring how much he yearns for silence). "A talkative person I couldn't bear even in a dream," he says, while his longwinded speech gushes forth uninterruptedly like a torrent in spring.

The two "δημηγορίαί," public speeches, are the the ones from Josephus' *The Jewish War* (Text 71). Since these, the δημηγορία Τίτου υἱοῦ Οὐέσπασιανου and the δημηγορία Ἰωσήπου, were discussed among the narratives, I leave them aside here.

The text which besides Isocrates' speech is called a "λόγος" is an item ascribed to John Chrysostom (Text 28). The title in our manuscript is *Λόγος τοῦ μεγάλου Χρυσόστομου κατὰ Ἡρωδιάδα καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν* (speech against Herodias and regarding wicked women). The Chrysostom attribution of this work is usually regarded as spurious.<sup>49</sup> The text seems to be a misogynic sermon in a vein all but rare in patristic texts—at least it looks that way from the portion of the text transmitted in *Gr 8*. In its entirety the sermon is actually made up of two parts, one of invective (*psogos*), where all the vile women in (Biblical) history are enumerated and discarded,

<sup>46</sup> Isoc. *Ad Dem.* 1, 2: ἀπέσταλκά σοι τόνδε τὸν λόγον δῶρον. Who this Demonius was is not clear: according to ancient tradition he was the son of one Hipponicus, a Cyprian and a friend of the orator.

<sup>47</sup> On declamation (μελέτη), see RUSSELL 1983, 9–20.

<sup>48</sup> RUSSELL 1996, 14.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. MERCATI 1921, 231. See also PG 59, 485–490 (*In decollationem praecursoris et baptistae Ioannis, et in Herodiadem*); CPG 4001 and 4570.

and one of praise (*epainos*), an attempt at finding at least a few female counter-examples. Too bad that only the *psogos* part was spicy enough to find a place in *Gr 8*. Probably the work was not at all conceived as a sermon. It could be that we have here a sheer rhetorical exercise in the praise-and-blame genre, though with the subject matter borrowed from the religious sphere. Due to later readers' willingness to take it seriously, it may have gotten more weight than intended.

The historical lament on a city is a rhetorical and literary topic with a long tradition. From having been a predominantly poetic form during antiquity, the city lament, or monody as it is often called, became more of a prose composition from the Second Sophistic and onwards.<sup>50</sup> The Byzantines continued in the same strain, delivering orations but also poems on various cities, and the last and greatest calamity of all, the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, was certainly not to be left unsung. Erwin Fenster comments on some of these monodies, those written by Andronikos Kallistos, John Eugenikos, two Anonymi, and Matthew Kamariotes. He also has a few remarks on the monody written by Manuel Christonymos.<sup>51</sup> *Gr 8* is one of the few manuscripts known to transmit this work (*Monody on the Capture of Constantinople*, Text 20), and Spyridon Lampros used it for his edition.<sup>52</sup> Fenster finds Christonymos' monody more interesting than the one that John Eugenikos wrote (although one should add that Fenster restricts his study to the use of rhetorical *topoi* of praise). The themes exploited by Christonymos are Constantinople as the "eye of the inhabited world," the "crown of the Graces," the devoted "mother of cities." But the most important trait was her role as sovereign in intellectual matters: "she alone was the mother and nurturer of Logos, she was the real Hellas."<sup>53</sup>

Text 72 is presented in *Gr 8* as a letter from Nikephoros Gregoras to the Grand Logothete Theodore Metochites.<sup>54</sup> I mention it here, among the oratory works, because, as a whole, the text shows very few signs of adhering to

<sup>50</sup> Aelius Aristides, for example, wrote a piece on Smyrna after the earthquake and Libanios did the same for Nicomedia. On the tradition of historical laments for cities, see also ALEXIOU 1974, 83–101.

<sup>51</sup> See FENSTER 1968, 281–289.

<sup>52</sup> *Μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινοπόλεως*, ed. LAMPROS 1908, 227–240. The other two manuscripts are *Bruxell. 11270* and *Par. gr. 2077* (text incomplete). According to Paul Wittek the scribe of the Brussels manuscript is "wahrscheinlich <Michael Apostoles>" (MORAUX 1976, 81). The other monodies which Fenster mentions were edited in the same publication by Lampros (*Νέος Ἑλλ.* 5).

<sup>53</sup> LAMPROS 1908, 232; cf. FENSTER 1968, 285.

<sup>54</sup> Nikephoros, who was born in Herakleia (Paphlagonia) in the early 1290s, came to Constantinople to study. Among his teachers was Theodore Metochites, the addressee of the letter in *Gr 8*. Supported by his patron John Kantakouzenos (later to become emperor), Nikephoros devoted his life to scientific and literary studies. His largest undertaking is the *Historia Rhomaïke*, which covers the period 1204–1358. In addition to this, and numerous treatises on various subjects (not least on hesychasm, to which he was an ardent opponent), there is a large collection of letters extant. The letter in *Gr 8* is not included in Pietro Leone's edition of the epistolary collection (LEONE 1982–83).

the epistolary genre; as a matter of fact, without the heading, Ἐπιστολὴ Γρηγοῤᾶ πρὸς τὸν σοφώτατον λογοθέτην παρακλητικὴ περὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας, one would never have suspected it to be a letter at all. Its primary place in the manuscript tradition is as an oration integrated into Gregoras' *Historia Rhomaike*.<sup>55</sup> The subject discussed is astronomy:<sup>56</sup> Nikephoros urges the Grand Logothete to share his knowledge in astronomical matters with him, and, as he points out in his history where he refers to this communication with Metochites, his request was well-received and he ended up spending much time with the Logothete in astronomical pursuits. The speech is more of an exhibition of rhetorical splendor than a personal message. In one manuscript it is added as an introduction to Metochites' own treatise on the fundamentals of astronomy, and that is perhaps the most suitable place for it, considering its adulatory appeal and high-flown rhetoric.<sup>57</sup>

That there is a close connection between prose composition and poetry, and that both were part of rhetorical training, may be illustrated by the next example, Text 55, which is a prose paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianzos' poem *On Virtue* (*Carm. mor.* I. 2, 9). The *progymnasmata*, especially fables, narratives, descriptions, and comparison, were preparations for the study of rhetoric but also for poetic composition,<sup>58</sup> and the paraphrase was one type of exercise which enhanced poetic awareness. Specific instructions on how to write prose paraphrases of poetry were included in the rhetorical handbooks.<sup>59</sup> Text 55 is a rather ordinary example of such an exercise: the paraphrast has not commented on or elaborated the text very much but kept close to the original. Still, it is more advanced than an alternative paraphrase of the same poem, known from three manuscripts.<sup>60</sup> The paraphrase in *Gr 8* is thus far not attested elsewhere.

## Poetry

Texts (33), (38), (42), 46, 47, 51, 52, 58, 73, 74, 77

The poetical works in *Gr 8* are not a particularly prominent group. Altogether they occupy ca. 40 pages, or 6 % of the whole codex. In addition to the poems discussed here, there are three texts which are composed in so-called political, or fifteen-syllable, verse: the excerpts from Tzetzes' *Chili-*

<sup>55</sup> Nic. Greg., *Hist.* I. 322, 19 – 327, 5. According to Jan-Louis van Dieten, the text is transmitted as a letter in six manuscripts (*Gr 8* uncounted); VAN DIETEN 1975, 138. Cf. VAN DIETEN 1973, I 46 (No. 12) and 50 (No. 32).

<sup>56</sup> Besides Nikephoros Gregoras' letter on astronomy, there are other texts in *Gr 8* which suggest that the scribe Theodoros took an interest in such matters, especially Text 66, a text on astrology and sand divination, and some of the passages from Text 56, Theodoret of Kyros' *Cure of the Pagan Maladies*. This is discussed further in Chapter 5.

<sup>57</sup> *Cod. Vat. gr. 1087*, f. I<sup>r-v</sup> (VAN DIETEN 1973, I, 50).

<sup>58</sup> KENNEDY 1999, 136.

<sup>59</sup> SEARBY 2003a, 341f.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. SEARBY 2003a, 342.

*ades* (Text 42), a hymn to the Theotokos (Text 33), and a gnomology containing excerpts from Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike* (Text 38). There is also, somewhat unexpectedly perhaps, a Latin poem in *Gr* 8. Text 77 is Ausonius' poem *De institutione viri boni*.<sup>61</sup> This poem appears alongside those texts in U15 which are set bilingually, in Latin with a Greek translation above. The Ausonius poem was apparently not intended to have a translation accompany it, because the lines are set much closer on the page. An hypothesis may be that Theodoros wished to practice writing in a humanist hand, and needed another model text for this.

The rhetorical topic of praise and lament on cities has already been introduced. There is a poem on the same theme, Text 51. Michael Choniates' *Elegy on Athens* is a small lament in twelve-syllable verse, which he wrote when he was the bishop there in the early thirteenth century. He deplores what has been lost over the centuries of ancient Athens and describes the sorry state of the medieval "rural" town. The poem has been shown to intricately combine the monody with ekphrastic and erotic discourse as we know it from twelfth-century novelistic writings.<sup>62</sup>

Two epigrams from the *Palatine Anthology* are included in *Gr* 8, *AP* IX 359–360 (Text 58). The first is by Posidippus of Pella (ca. 310–240 BCE), the second (although headed by τοῦ αὐτοῦ, "by the same author" in *Gr* 8) is presumably written by Metrodoros, who was active at the turn of the sixth century.<sup>63</sup> Together these create a contrastive pair of epigrams, where the second one apparently was created as a close variation and comment on the first. In Posidippus' poem, a pessimistic picture of life is given. "What's the best path to take in life?" the poet asks, and goes on to enumerate all the difficulties and anxieties which a human being inevitably comes across. "It all boils down, then, to a choice of two: never to be born or, once born, to die on the spot."<sup>64</sup> To this Metrodoros retorts: "Pursue every path in life [...] There is, then, no choice of two, never to be born or, once born, to die; for all in life is great." This rhetorical sport, where one emulates a poem and makes something new out of it, was not a new phenomenon in Byzantium, although it must have been a very appropriate pursuit, given the general veneration of ancient literature.<sup>65</sup> With its focus on how to improve one's argu-

<sup>61</sup> Ausonius' poem has also been transmitted in manuscripts as (pseudo-)Vergilian. See further CLAUSEN 1966, 165–168.

<sup>62</sup> The discussion is found in the comment by Marc Lauxtermann on Panagiotis Agapitos' report on Byzantine vernacular romances: see AGAPITOS 2004, 65f. (debate in *Symbolae Osloenses* 79:1).

<sup>63</sup> The popularity of these epigrams is shown by their inclusion into numerous florilegia (cf. GOW & PAGE 1965, II, 502).

<sup>64</sup> Transl. Frank Nisetich (GUTZWILLER 2005, 47).

<sup>65</sup> Plutarch's discussion of how the poets' wordings may be re-written to better suit a certain moral also goes to show how an active reader could go about using the texts; cf. examples in Plut. *Mor.* I, 33 (from *How the young man should study poetry*). On the *infidus* author in Greco-Roman literature, who selects from and modifies his sources, repeating with a differ-

mentation and how to vary one's speech, the rhetorical education would also have encouraged this activity of re-writing.

The epigram as a poetic genre is often associated with the short, perhaps witty, always elegant pieces such as the ones just mentioned. As Marc Lauxtermann has shown, though, the Byzantine epigrammatic genre is so much more than that; Byzantine epigrams may, for example, easily turn into full-length poetic texts.<sup>66</sup> Two such poems are present in *Gr 8*, one on an explicitly Christian subject, the Last Judgment, and one composed as a lament on the occasion of a shipwreck. The former (Text 73) could have been referred to the section on theological texts, below, while the latter (Text 74) was kept here as an example of rhetorical splendor. But since these two texts are transmitted in connection to each other in other manuscripts as well, I prefer to discuss them together.<sup>67</sup> As in the case with the praise-and-blame piece on Biblical women mentioned above, one may assume that epideictic epigrams, poetic showpieces, were created on secular as well as Christian topics. Both of these poems display technical and rhetorical skill and compositional awareness. Text 73 (inc. Ἄρα τίς γῆθεν αἰίρας) is an anacreontic poem written by Emperor Leo VI (Leo the Wise). In *Gr 8* the title is missing, but in other manuscripts it is usually referred to as ὠδάριον κατανυκτικόν.<sup>68</sup> The poem is organized acrostically, something which goes for the next poem also, Text 74. This text, which has not been identified in *Gr 8* before, is Constantine Sikeliotēs' "anacreontic alphabet" (inc. Ἀπὸ μουσικῶν μελᾶθρων).<sup>69</sup>

Text 46, a strophic poem in fifteen-syllable verse, has suffered the fate of two misleading designations, *Carmen paraeneticum* and "τοῦ Σπανέα." Let us begin with the latter. The genuine *Spaneas* poem goes back to the twelfth century but has seen many versions as regards its length, contents, and language form. These versions, however, have one thing in common: the close correspondence to a certain florilegium, the so-called *Excerpta Parisina*.<sup>70</sup> All the strophes in the *Spaneas* build upon a suite of sayings borrowed from

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ence, see ROSENMEYER 1992, 147–151. On the literary tradition of epigram pairs written by the same author, so-called companion pieces, see KIRSTEIN 2002.

<sup>66</sup> LAUXTERMANN 2003, 23. On the use of the term ἐπίγραμμα in Byzantine texts, see LAUXTERMANN 2003, 26–34.

<sup>67</sup> The same two poems are combined in at least two other manuscripts, *Barocc. 133* (end of 14<sup>th</sup> c.) and *Vindob. Theol. gr. 265* (14<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>68</sup> A clue to the identity of the first poem is actually provided already in the pinax by Nicholas de la Torre, where it was labeled Λέοντος βασιλέως ἐξαποστειλάρια (see p. 66). Torallas Tovar's description of this and the next text as "[m]áximas en orden alfabético" is inadequate (TORALLAS TOVAR 1994, 238). Pietro Matranga's Greek *editio princeps* from 1850 and Jacopo Pontani's 1603 Latin version of the same poem are available in *PG* 107, 309–314; MATRANGA 1850, II, 683–688. See also CICCOLELLA 1989; on Leo VI and his literary activity, see ANTONOPOULOU 1997.

<sup>69</sup> Ed. MONACO 1951; MATRANGA 1850, II, 689–692.

<sup>70</sup> These sayings, which belong to the larger florilegal collection *Corpus Parisinum*, were edited as a separate collection by Leo Sternbach (STERNBACH 1894). They are found on ff. 83<sup>r</sup>–121<sup>v</sup> in *Par. gr. 1168*.



this florilegium.<sup>71</sup> The poem in *Gr 8*, on the other hand, shows no relation to these sayings. It belongs to the version which George Danezis labeled “Pseudo-Spaneas.” One manuscript actually refers to the poem as Στίχοι πολιτικοὶ τοῦ Σπανία,<sup>72</sup> but it is obvious that the poem “bei jeder weiteren Beschäftigung mit dem Spaneas-Text ausgeschlossen werden muß.”<sup>73</sup>

The other designation, *Carmen paraeneticum*, was applied by Vilhelm Lundström in his 1902 edition.<sup>74</sup> But whereas the genuine Spaneas is paraenetic, providing moral advice in the same vein as gnomological literature, this is not quite so in Text 46. Instead we have a despondent poem about the world and its illusory character, the vanity of human existence.

The poem *Carmen Paraeneticum* is present in *Gr 8* in yet another setting, as Text 52, but this time with only one stanza, inc. Οἷδασιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι. The re-use of this strophe may suggest that this was a poem that Theodoros had learnt by heart. The striking position of Text 46 may also support this: following upon a long list of Jewish patriarchs and of the kings of various nations, the poem very neatly starts out with a strophe on King Solomon, and also in several other stanzas there are comments about the kings and rulers of this world.

Text 47 is a small epigram used as a page filler, this time in twelve-syllable verse: Δόξαν προσλαβὼν τίμα τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα | φόβον ἐμποίων μέχρι καὶ λόγου μόνου· | αὕτη γὰρ παρέρχεται ταχὺ πηδῶσα, | μόνη δὲ ἡ μνήμη σου συμπαραμένει.<sup>75</sup>

## Epistolography

The writing of letters was a major application of rhetoric in late antiquity as well as in the Byzantine centuries. Epistolography is often put forward as a central literary genre, or even *the* genre in which the Byzantines excelled the most. Letters can certainly be literature, but they were also part of people’s lives in a more pragmatic way. Since most of the letters extant in manuscripts were probably deliberately composed to be of lasting value, even to be “published” if one were lucky, they are hardly representative of Byzantine letter-writing as a whole. The late ancient papyrus letters which reflect

<sup>71</sup> The earlier theory was that the *Spaneas* poem built directly on Isocrates’ speech *To Demonicus*, but George Danezis has convincingly argued that the gnomology is the source of all the sayings in the poem (DANEZIS 1987; cf. KRUMBACHER 1897, 802f.).

<sup>72</sup> *Vat. Barb. II 99*, f. 4<sup>v</sup>; LUNDSTRÖM 1902, 3.

<sup>73</sup> DANEZIS 1987, 214.

<sup>74</sup> Twelve manuscripts are known to transmit this poem (15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> c.). Lundström based his edition on six of them, *Gr 8* included. For the manuscripts and editions of “Gruppe IV: Pseudo-Spaneas,” see DANEZIS 1987, 209f.

<sup>75</sup> “Having received an honor, reward those whom you have at your hands, inspiring awe even as you utter one word, because an honor escapes on swift feet, only the memory of you stays on.”

everyday life are certainly of a different kind. Here we will concentrate on the more conscientious production of so-called literary letters, those which presuppose a certain familiarity with rhetorical training. It is necessary to make further distinctions: in addition to the *real* everyday letters, private as well as official ones, we have the *fictitious* letters, either those in which manufactured words are at a later stage put in the mouth of an historical person, or those which are entirely imaginary, composed simply for the amusement and gamefulness of it. In either case they functioned as rhetorical exercises in mimesis: at the level of representation—expressing a certain person's ethos and speech—and at the level of artistic imitation, in relation to the genre of letter-writing.

Thus far, the boundaries are fairly clear, and these categories more or less cover the ancient letters. However, when it comes to Byzantine letters, the most profuse output consists of so-called *real but literary letters*.<sup>76</sup> These are the letters that were actually written and sent as an act of communication between sender and receiver, but which were also designed with the ulterior motive that they might get a larger audience: they could be read aloud among friends and copied by fans, collected by the writer or receiver, or by someone else who wished to treasure them for the future.<sup>77</sup> They could be honest and personal—as far as people allow for that in public—but at the same time molded and polished to pass as small artefacts. Byzantine letters filled a social function, confirming friendship and contacts;<sup>78</sup> they were also a ticket to the small clique of intellectuals who understood the riddles and allusions, and could appreciate the balanced and elegant form.<sup>79</sup> One characteristic of the genre is its playful approach to literary creation, thus demanding a fair share of education and erudition from its consumers.<sup>80</sup>

In *Gr 8*, there are no less than 70 letters of different kinds and from different times. Some are obviously fictitious; others are addressed to real persons. Most of them show literary ambition; one or two seem more like treatises, one is just a covering letter which explains why another (copy of a) letter was sent to someone. In length they vary between two lines and eleven manuscript pages. Below, I will briefly touch upon most of these, at first in a

<sup>76</sup> A discussion of this epistolary category is found in MULLETT 1981; on Byzantine epistolography at large, see also HATLIE 1996; GRÜNBART 2007.

<sup>77</sup> Antonio Garzya has stressed that letters, though deliberately well-wrought, were still a form of *Gebrauchsliteratur*, something that was consumed immediately at reception, and also fit for practical purposes, through recycling of their topoi and themes, wording and imagery. Thus new letters could be written as intellectual “palimpsests” on those one had received and read (GARZYA 1981).

<sup>78</sup> On friendship as an epistolary topos, see KARLSSON 1962, esp. chs. 1 and 3.

<sup>79</sup> The instructions that Gregory of Nazianzos presented to his nephew Nikoboulos (*Ep.* 51) are often referred to as a kind of measuring stick for Byzantine letters. According to Gregory, letters should have the properties of μέτρον, σαφήνεια, and χάρις, i.e., they should be concise, clear, and pleasant. Cf. DENNIS 1986; GRÜNBART 2007, 125–128.

<sup>80</sup> “Der Gattung ist ein spielerischer Umgang mit den literarischen Vorfahren immanent” (GRÜNBART 2007, 137).

more or less chronological order, but I will also look at the position of these texts inside the manuscript, to see if that can help us assess their functions.

### Ancient letters

Texts 8–9, 11b

The larger share of the letters in *Gr 8* stems from late antiquity, but some are even earlier in origin. The first such group, the Hippocratic letters (Text 8), belongs to what is sometimes referred to as the “Persian” epistolary novel.<sup>81</sup> Their authorship is considered spurious, and dating the letters is also problematic: Wesley Smith only states that “whatever their date of composition, the letters were added to the collection of medical works at a time later than the two [pseudepigraphic] speeches,” i.e. after the last quarter of the third century BCE.<sup>82</sup> The outline of contents in the three letters transmitted in *Gr 8* is the following: (8) Artaxerxes wants the Coans to surrender Hippocrates to him for being insolent, or else he will destroy their city. (9) The Coans answer that they will not give in to his claims. (1) Artaxerxes laments the plague which is ravaging among his people and asks Petos to send him word of where to find a remedy.<sup>83</sup> As Niklas Holzberg points out, there is both satire and realism in the glimpses that we get from the Hippocratic letters.<sup>84</sup> An important theme is also the interaction between intellectuals and those in power: Hippocrates will not help the enemy, and the gold that Artaxerxes offers is less influential than a wise word.

Another fictitious letter in *Gr 8* dealing with illness is attributed to Diodorus of Karystos, who in the fourth century BCE was a renowned physician in Athens (latter part of Text 11). This letter, probably stemming from the first century BCE, is discussed below, in connection with the medical texts.

The Anacharsis letters (Text 9) form another instance of fictitious letters. There was in the sixth century BCE an historical person with the name Anacharsis, known to us through Herodotus’ writings. This Scythian traveled widely and came to Greece to learn about the Greek way of life. When

<sup>81</sup> On epistolary novels as a genre, see HOLZBERG 1994 (the Hippocratic letters are dealt with specifically on pp. 22–38); and ROSENMEYER 1994.

<sup>82</sup> SMITH 1990, 6. According to Dimitrios Sakales they derive from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE (SAKALES 1989, 17, n. 1).

<sup>83</sup> The order of the texts is obviously reversed compared to the logical explication of the novel: the introductory letter (*Ep.* 1) follows *after* *Epp.* 8 and 9, but this is probably not a deliberate choice made by Theodoros. The manuscript tradition of these letters is very complex; the papyri only contain letters 3–6 and 11, and some manuscripts also seem to corroborate that the sequence 3–9 was the core to which the first two letters were then added as an introduction to the letters that follow; cf. SMITH 1990, 18 and 37. In its sequencing of the letters *Gr 8* corresponds with *Cod. Monac. gr. 490* (15<sup>th</sup> c.), where *Hipp. Epp.* 3–9 and 1 are presented in the same way. Moreover, it also contains the Anacharsis *Epp.* 1–8 (+ No. 9 *mut.*) in the same position as in *Gr 8*, i.e. directly after Hippocrates. According to Franz Heinrich Reuters’ edition of the Anacharsis letters, both of these manuscripts are dependent on *Cod. Vatic. gr. 1353*, dated to 1462 (REUTERS 1957, 42).

<sup>84</sup> HOLZBERG 1994, 22.

he returned home, this was not appreciated and he was put to death by his own people, says Herodotos.<sup>85</sup> The memory of Anacharsis became idealized, and eventually he was even counted among the Seven Sages.<sup>86</sup> However, the epistolary tradition is much later than Anacharsis himself; the pseudonymous letter collection was produced in the first half of the third century BCE, when the Cynic movement made him into a hero.<sup>87</sup> *Gr 8* presents us with *Epp.* 1–8: the first two letters spell out that Greeks and barbarians (those who speak other languages) should be seen as equal, and hospitality should apply to everyone, without difference. In customs and outer appearance people differ, but wisdom and foolishness are the same everywhere. The rest of the letters are an appeal for a simple, righteous life and fair government. In this they display the same kind of sentiment as we find in some of the other texts in *Gr 8*: *Stephanites and Ichneutes* (Text 3) and Isocrates' speech *To Demonicus* (Text 5), both of which are regarded as Prince's Mirrors.

### The Church Fathers take up the pen

Texts (7), 36, 67–70

Let us proceed with the late antique letters in *Gr 8*. I have already mentioned one letter by Gregory of Nazianzos, above (Text 7, p. 125); the other one allegedly by Gregory is a mere two-line trifle addressed to Libanios (Text 69).<sup>88</sup> In general terms, though, it is worth mentioning that many of Gregory's letters were among those held up as exemplary in both Byzantine and post-Byzantine letter manuals.<sup>89</sup> This admiration was also given Basil the

<sup>85</sup> Hdt. 4. 76–77. On the Anacharsis legend and its florilegal transmission, see KINDSTRAND 1981.

<sup>86</sup> The tradition of the Seven Sages is not entirely stable: the version in *Gr 8*, for example, does not include Anacharsis (Text 59, f. 279<sup>v</sup>). On this tradition, see further KINDSTRAND 1981, 33–50.

<sup>87</sup> This means that the Anacharsis letters may be the oldest extant collection which unquestionably is made up of pseudonymous, fictitious letters (REUTERS 1963, 2). The dating is mainly based upon linguistic traits, but also on geographical information in the letters; cf. REUTERS 1963, 3f. and 1957, 11f. Patricia Rosenmeyer argues that pseudonymous letters occupy a kind of middle-ground between embedded letters (such as we meet in historical and novelistic works) and the epistolary novel; she sees them as influenced by the former and suggestive of the latter; ROSENMEYER 2001, 193, and 209–217.

<sup>88</sup> “As a mother I have sent children to a father, me—a mother by nature, to you—a father of eloquence. That I may still take care of them, you should take care of them.” (Gr. Naz., *Ep.* 236). Why someone even bothered transmitting it, is difficult to understand. The topic, however, is similar to Basil's *Epp.* 1 and 3 to Libanios, above (numbered according to the correspondence of Libanios and Basil; they equal *Epp.* 335 and 337 in the Benedictine edition of Basil's letters; see also n. 94, below). I find it less plausible to see the letter as something Gregory sent “im Namen der Mutter des Jünglings,” as Marie-Madeleine Hauser-Meury has it, and read it rather as if Gregory likens his own role to that of a mother; cf. HAUSER-MEURY 1960, 113).

<sup>89</sup> This is the case for example in Theophilos Korydalleus' letter manual (RHOBY 2007, 416–418). A couple of letter manuals of late antique or early Byzantine origin have been transmitted under the names of Demetrios of Phaleron, Libanios and Proklos. On these, see RABE

Great and Libanios, whose correspondence in *Gr* 8 is more substantial (Texts 67–68, 70).<sup>90</sup> These texts, 27 letters all in all, make up the greater part of U13, together with a couple of excerpts from Josephus' *The Jewish War* and yet another letter, from Nikephoros Gregoras to Theodore Metochites.

Among the letters of Basil and Libanios, Text 67 (Basil *Ep.* 2) seems to stand apart, giving more comprehensive information, whereas most of the others are relatively short and could have been included for their merit as model letters for a scribe. The title given in the manuscript also points in that direction: while the others are presented with just an “ἐπιστολαὶ ἀμοιβαῖαι” (mutual letters), Basil's *Ep.* 2 is labeled “ὁμιλία.” This letter, addressed to Gregory of Nazianzos, is an early sketch of Basil's anchorite program, the conditions of ascetic life.<sup>91</sup> Since no other texts in *Gr* 8 are devoted to monastic or ascetic matters, I find it worthy of note that Theodoros incorporated precisely this letter of the Church Father. These are the basic elements of Basil's rule, as he pictured it in *Ep.* 2: stillness, solitude, prayer, Scriptural study, moderation in speaking, sandals and one girdled tunic only, vegetarian food, light sleep interrupted by meditations. With such a severe subject matter one may think the letter is as harsh to read, but that is not so. It flows smoothly, and is interspersed with similes and allusions to various stories, to carry the reader onward; from the unaccustomed voyager who keeps suffering from sea sickness even on shore, over similes of the unsteady gaze which cannot focus, the wax tablet which must be erased before being inscribed again, the doctor's shop with specific remedies for each infirmity, to the Biblical stories of Joseph, Job, David, and others. Even if Basil states that one should show moderation in speech, he surely knows how to put his words agreeably and efficiently in a letter. On one point, this letter does adhere to his ascetic code: he does not resort to wit here, whereas in some of the letters sent to Libanios there is a definite (although subtle) quality of humor and jest.

The opinions on the presumed or refuted authenticity of Libanios' and Basil's correspondence (Text 68) have differed widely over the years, and the matter still seems unresolved.<sup>92</sup> If Libanios was the teacher of Basil—an

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1909; WEICHERT 1910. See also Chapter 5, below, concerning the formulary in *Gr* 8, ff. 320–323 (Text 81).

<sup>90</sup> Although cataloged as just three items in my inventory of *Gr* 8, the actual number of letters by these two authors is larger: Text 67 = Bas. *Ep.* 2. Text 68 = Lib.–Bas. *Epp.* 7; 1; 15–22; 2–6; 8–9; 13–14; 10–12. Text 70 = Bas. *Epp.* 330; 332; 186; 187.

<sup>91</sup> The full title on f. 286<sup>r</sup> is: τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Βασιλείου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας Καπαδοκίας τοῦ μεγάλου ὁμιλία πρὸς Γρηγόριον τὸν θεολόγον περὶ βίου καταστάσεως.

<sup>92</sup> As Wolf-Dieter Hauschild summarizes the matter, “Die Echtheit der Korrespondenz zwischen Basilius und Libanius ist seit den Zweifeln Garniers und Marans [PG 29, CLIX] mehrfach bestritten worden. Bis heute hat das Problem keine allgemein akzeptierte Lösung gefunden [...]. Die auf stilistischen Beobachtungen basierende Kritik an der Echtheit (z.B. bei Laube und Foerster) kann nicht definitiv überzeugen; sie müßte umfassender und detaillierter begründet werden” (HAUSCHILD 1993, 243). Unquestionably spurious are Letters 9, 13, and

issue still under dispute—it is at least possible that the communication took place.<sup>93</sup> Whatever the truth, the position of *Gr 8* is unwavering: Theodoros has meticulously marked each letter with either Λιβάνιος Βασιλείῳ or Βασίλειος Λιβανίῳ.<sup>94</sup> The subject matter of the letters varies: there are letters of recommendation, as Basil sends young men to join Libanios' teaching, and Libanios' replies to these (*Epp.* 1; 15; 2; 3; 12). There are comments on everyday conditions and practical matters: Basil in *Ep.* 16 “while I wrote it, I covered this letter with snow, so that you may feel how cold it is and understand how it is to be locked in by the grim winter. We live in tombs here until spring brings our corpses back to life;” *Epp.* 13 and 14: Libanios needs rafters—can Basil send them to him? This could of course not be said without due rhetorical meandering. Basil answers with more of this wordplay and teasing, the key message being: “have sent 300 rafters to you.” *Epp.* 3–6 are linked to and comment on each other, praising the eloquence of the other in a quest for humbleness and mutual admiration. They are letters about letter-writing, something which could make them even more interesting as “model letters” for a scribe like Theodoros. Other letters, too, comment on the lack of letters or the difficulty in writing them: *Ep.* 7 Libanios to Basil: Are you still mad at me? If not, why don't you write me? *Ep.* 22 Basil: “Receiving the letters you write, joy; but when asked to reply to your letters, struggle.” *Ep.* 10: Basil has not heard from Libanios for ages and ends with an “Ok, bye then”—which sounds more like a “well, screw you, then!”—“Write if you wish, don't write if that suits you better.” To this Libanios in *Ep.* 11 says “I'm sorry” (although Libanios actually needed 300 words to say this and make it sound like it was Basil who had wronged him).

*Epp.* 17–20 create an intriguing appendage to another text in *Gr 8*, Text 27. I give an abridged paraphrase of the first letter, from Basil to Libanios:

People marvel at your eloquence. They seem to have listened to a splendid display, and I hear everyone was there: nobles, enrolled recruits, craftsmen, yes, even women! They told me the orator had given a declamation on a grouchy husband. Well, I want to hear it too. Send it to me!

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14, and this probably goes for Letter 8 as well (HAUSCHILD 1993, 244). On the authenticity of the correspondence, see also CRIBIORE 2007, 100f.

<sup>93</sup> Raffaella Cribiore states that “Basil was indeed a student of Libanios, but not in Antioch and not for long.” Basil took advantage of the teachings of philosophers and rhetors during his stay in Constantinople (in 348 or 349 CE), precisely the period when Libanios taught in Nicomedia and Constantinople. A letter of Basil's brother, Gregory of Nyssa, corroborates this, since Basil is there called “student” (μαθητής) of Libanios (*Ep.* 13); CRIBIORE 2007, 100.

<sup>94</sup> I number these mutual letters according to Foerster's edition of Libanios (*Epistularum Basilii et Libanii quod fertur commercium*; FOERSTER 1922, 11, 572–597. This means that Lib.—Bas. *Epp.* 1–22 equal Bas. *Epp.* 335–356 in Garnier & Maran's edition of Basil's letters (usually called the Benedictine edition of 1839; PG 32, 1077–1097); the letters in *Gr 8* are set in the following sequence: *Epp.* 7; 1; 15–22; 2–6; 8–9; 13–14; 10–12.

Libanios' lauded performance probably presented the same declamation that Theodoros has included in U6 (Text 27, cf. above, p. 132).<sup>95</sup> In the next letter Libanios says that he has sent his speech to Basil, but he trembles at the verdict. Basil replies, piling up superlatives, saying that he really thought he saw this man together with his chatty woman. "For a speech alive on earth has Libanios written, he who alone has given words a life." Libanios is very happy with Basil's estimation and can now swagger around with pride. In sum, the exchange of letters between Libanios and Basil is an exhibition of eloquence coupled with charm and wit. Consequently, this part of the manuscript vouches for amusing reading in addition to being a possible fount for model texts.

The same could be said about the next few letters by Basil, *Epp.* 330, 332, 186 and 187 (Text 70). The first two, both without addressee, are short, pithy expressions from someone who is tired of waiting for letters. The ideas are: a) If you love me, write me! b) Are you dead or what? If not, write me! *Epp.* 186–187 are devoted to *Sauerkraut*(!). In a letter to Antipater, the governor of Cappadocia, Basil comments on the fact that pickled cabbage has restored the governor's appetite and health. This food, which Basil could hardly endure, "both on account of the proverb [cited only in Antipater's reply], and because it reminded me of its companion, poverty," ought therefore be re-evaluated and held in highest esteem, even surpassing Homeric lotus and the ambrosia of the gods. In Antipater's reassuring answer he gives us the proverb: "cabbage twice is death." The tone in these letters is light and good-humored. "I have often wished to die," Antipater says, "but that will only happen once—and whether I ask for it or not." These letters go well together with some of the medical texts in *Gr* 8: the excerpts from Paul of Aegina, which all treat the connection between food-stuff and health, and the letter attributed to Diocles of Karystos, stressing diet and purging as the way to avoid sickness (see Text 11, below p. 174).

Text 36 (on f. 196 in U6) bestows us two more letters from late antiquity. Isidore of Pelousion lived his life as a monk near Pelousion (today's Tell el-Farama, in the eastern part of the Nile Delta) and died an old man not later than 449–450. His voluminous correspondence—2000 letters—deals with dogmatics and exegetics, with ecclesiastical and monastic discipline, but it also addresses practical morality for the guidance of laymen, whether they be judges, rulers, or teachers. The two letters in *Gr* 8, *Epp.* I, 390 and I, 167, belong to this last category.<sup>96</sup> Since their subject matter is somewhat peculiar, I render them in full:

<sup>95</sup> Lib. *Decl.* 26: Δύσκολος γήμας λάλον γυναῖκα ἐαυτὸν προσαγγέλλει.

<sup>96</sup> On the transmission and authenticity of the correspondence, see EVIEUX 1976, 329–335. There is no modern edition of Isidore's whole correspondence; for the Greek wording of the above letters, see PG 78, 401 and 292f.

[To Quintinianos:]<sup>97</sup>

Harsh rumors trouble me and bring offensive tidings. Some people say that you were so mad and out of your mind, so as to wish to bring this child who by God was made capable of receiving all erudition, to carry weapons and go on a cheap and despicable campaign, a playground of death. Now, if you have not completely suffered a loss of wits, give up this confused plan. Do not put a light out which endeavors to glow brilliantly, but allow him to devote himself to studies. That other dignity, or rather penalty, you should procure for other vagrants, those who go well together with the common lack of learning. (*Ep.* I, 390)

[To Esaïas, the soldier:]

The man who takes pleasure in combat, and enjoys the clamor, and keenly pursues that which is repulsive to everybody else—what should one aptly call him, if not an evil demon, who of his own accord has transformed his nature? Because already here, ahead of time, Christ punishes the demons, and in that other place he has promised them an eternal fire along with their father. Either bring an end to your quest for a tumultuous life, or know that already here you are liable to whipping, and beyond, you will not escape vengeance. (*Ep.* I, 167)

One certainly wonders what made Theodoros select these two letters and no other from Isidore's vast collection. Had he himself once wished to be a soldier? Did he have a son or another person close to him, whom he needed to dissuade from walking that road? Mere speculations, yes, but out of 2000 letters, why these pacifist statements? One may object here that we cannot know if Theodoros selected these two letters out of a corpus of Isidore's writings or not. True, but he still chose to put these two in his book, even if he happened to stumble upon them in another context. I find the choice of the subject matter fascinating.

### **Byzantine epistolographers**

Texts (42), 43, (72)

Theophylact Simokates is perhaps less known than many other writers of the early Byzantine period. He lived in the early part of the seventh century, and wrote, among other things, a history of the reign of Emperor Maurice (582–602). As an author of fictitious letters he has been rather unfairly judged by some scholars: Eduard Norden and Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff used words like “silly” and “grimacing monster” to describe him,<sup>98</sup> but, fortunately, their yardstick of estimation is now out-of-date. In the wake of the ongoing reappraisal of Hellenistic poetry and post-classical rhetoric has

<sup>97</sup> The addressee Quintinianos is not mentioned in *Gr 8*, and neither is Esaïas, the soldier, in the next letter. These have been added from Migne's text in *PG* 78.

<sup>98</sup> NISSEN 1937, 17.



come a wider understanding of the minor formats of literary creation, and an appreciation of the games authors play through intertextual commentary and re-use and variation of familiar topics. Simokates' short fictitious letters have been compared to "small poems, neatly structured: he draws a scene in a few lines and then closes it off with a clever twist or moral."<sup>99</sup>

Theophylact's collection of 85 letters includes three different categories: moralizing, rustic, and courtesan letters (ἐπιστολαὶ ἠθικαί, ἀγροικικαί, ἑταιρικαί), sorted according to the principle of *variatio*.<sup>100</sup> There are twenty of these in *Gr 8*, representing all three categories: ten on ethical matter, three letters where Theophylact gives voice to farmers, and seven letters on courtesans (Text 43).<sup>101</sup> What becomes apparent as one reads Theophylact's letters is the way the author creates something new by stretching a traditional theme or topos a bit further, toppling the story in a comical direction.<sup>102</sup> To give an example, the subject matter of *Ep.* 16 seems at first glance rather dull: don't take loans, don't buy on tick, and you'll be free and happy. The joke does not appear until we remember to check who sent it and to whom: the sender is Gorgias, who is reputed to have become vastly affluent from his sophistic teaching; he was criticized for wanting to make money by deceiving the public with misleading arguments.<sup>103</sup> The addressee Aristides,

<sup>99</sup> MOFFATT 1984, 345.

<sup>100</sup> The sequence is such that every third letter is moralizing, every third rustic, and likewise with the courtesan letters. Since the collection begins and ends with moralizing letters, there are all in all 29 of these and 28 letters each of the other two groups. The only exception to the sequencing is *Epp.* 26–27, though they may have just swapped places in the manuscript tradition (cf. MOFFATT 1984, 348; according to Zanetto, the wrong sequence of *Epp.* 26–27 was present already in the archetype; in four manuscripts it has been corrected to the more logical sequence with regard to contents 25–27–26–28; ZANETTO 1985, xxv). Adriana Pignani also breaks the sequencing by putting *Ep.* 20 in the courtesan group, *epistole amorosi* (PIGNANI 1979–80, 51; Moffatt, as above, n. 14, suggests likewise), but the letter must first and foremost count as a rustic one: one farmer writes to another complaining that the girl he is courting does not love him back. He had just sent her wild pears as a gift, "but she threw away the thread and rose from the loom, took the pears and gave to the pigs." With amusing result Theophylact combines the epistolary topos of gifts accompanying letters and the topoi in love letters of blind fate and torturing erotes. The clash between the farmer's anguish ("But I cry! Terrible Eros has wronged me...") and the picture of the girl throwing his precious pears to the hogs, is downright funny.

<sup>101</sup> Simoc *Epp.* 1, 3–4, 9–10, 13–19, 26, 29, 34, 37, 46, 60–61, 66. *Epp.* 14, 17, and 29 are rustic; *Epp.* 3, 9, 15, 18, 26, 60, and 66 are courtesan letters. The most recent editor of Simokates' letters, Giuseppe Zanetto, has not mentioned *Gr 8* in his surveys of manuscripts and did not include any account of these letters in his editorial work, most likely because he could not know about them: Graux's catalog is entirely silent, Torallas Tovar gave the incipit but no identification (cf. ZANETTO 1976; ZANETTO 1982b; ZANETTO 1985). The selection of letters in *Gr 8* does not correspond to that of any other known manuscript (cf. ZANETTO 1982b, Appendix II), but a preliminary collation of the texts indicates that *Gr 8* is related to Zanetto's "familia a" (which, in Zanetto's stemma, is made up of *Par. gr.* 690, *Par. gr.* 2991A, *Vat. Urb. gr.* 134, and *Ambros. A 115 sup.*; ZANETTO 1985, xxiii).

<sup>102</sup> Cf. ZANETTO 1982a.

<sup>103</sup> SPRAGUE 1972, 31. Cf. Diod. Sic. 12. 53, on Gorgias' enormous fees; Paus. 10. 18, 7, on his statue of gold in Delphi; Ael. Var. 12. 32, on his purplean clothes.

on the other hand, is remembered for his righteousness, never seeking benefits for his own sake. “Of all his virtues, it was his justice that most impressed the multitude. [...] Wherefore, though poor and a man of the people, he acquired that most kingly and godlike surname of ‘The Just.’”<sup>104</sup> Theophylact thus twists the subject around: the arguments in the letter seem sound enough, but in the mouth of a swindler they get another tinge. A letter which appeared to be about living beyond one’s means, becomes a challenge to the reader, who must ask her- or himself: who is the real crook here?

Unfortunately, in *Gr 8* no captions to Theophylact’s letters were inserted: thus a reader may have missed out on some of the fun here. When Theodoros copied the letters though, he probably did have access to a more complete model, because he left just enough room for a title at the beginning of U9, and for rubricated captions to be inserted at each letter. This rubrication was never carried out, but we can see in the manuscript that later readers did partake of these cultivated and also very enjoyable letters.<sup>105</sup> They have tried, with poor result, to supply some short-titles: *Ep. 3*, for example, is introduced by *περι τον ετερηδον ηγουν τον πουτανον*, and *Ep. 16* is called *τους δανιστας κι χραιστας*.

John Tzetzes’ letter to John Lachanas is included in *Gr 8* together with the commentary excerpts from the *Chiliades* (Text 42), and begins with the statement that the letter displays the three forms of speech: judiciary, hortatory, and festive speech.<sup>106</sup> The remark that “through the stories (*ταῖς ἱστορίαις*) it delivers praise of some people and blame of others,” is to the point, since Tzetzes’ letter seems to be more of a catalog of exempla than a real act of communication.<sup>107</sup> “With these things you can embellish, Zabareiotan Lachanas: Kroisos on riches, Midas on gold, ... Narkissos on beauty, Orpheus on music,” Tzetzes sets off, and then he just carries on and on with all his references to ancient tales. To cast this in the form of a letter in fifteen-syllable verse seems rather bizarre.

<sup>104</sup> Plut. *Arist.* 6. 1; trans. Perrin. Herodotos calls Aristeides “the best and most just man in Athens” (Hdt 8. 79).

<sup>105</sup> That Theophylact really strove to chisel out the form of the letters is obvious from Theodor Nissen’s article, where Nissen brings the nineteenth-century editor Rudolph Hercher to the book, showing that his “emendations” had broken up the prose-rhythm of Theophylact’s clause endings (NISSEN 1932). Cf., however, Wolfram Hörandner, who argues that Nissen may in some cases have gone too far in his defense of Theophylact, through adding new conjectures *rythmi gratia* (HÖRANDNER 1981, 82).

<sup>106</sup> John Lachanas was a contemporary colleague to Tzetzes, a teacher who apparently got an appointment at the *ζαβαρεῖον*, the arsenal of Constantinople. Yet another letter from Tzetzes to Lachanas is extant (*Ep.* 105), but here he is called *diakonos* instead of *grammatikos*. The Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonike also sent a letter to Lachanas (GRÜNBART 1996, 222, n. 245).

<sup>107</sup> Αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ μετέχει τῶν τριῶν εἰδῶν τῆς ῥητορικῆς· ἥ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀνειδίζει, τὸ δίκαιικὸν εἶδος τηρεῖ· ἥ δὲ παραινεί, τὸ συμβουλευτικόν· τὸ πανηγυρικόν, ἥ ταῖς ἱστορίαις τοὺς μὲν ἐγκωμιαστικῶς, τοὺς δὲ μεμπτικῶς ἐπιφέρει (*Gr 8*, f. 217r).

Text 72, the letter from Nikephoros Gregoras to the Grand Logothete Metochites was discussed above, among the oratory works.

### Letters from humanist circles

Texts 24, 25a–c, 26

Five letters in *Gr 8* saw their origin in the humanist circle of Plethon and Cardinal Bessarion in the 1450s or a little later. They are transmitted in sequence in the manuscript, on ff. 162–173. The first letter was written by George Gemistos Plethon shortly before his death in 1452 and is addressed to George Scholarios (Text 24). Its contents reflect one of the large intellectual controversies of the time: the supremacy of Plato's or Aristotle's teachings. George Scholarios (soon to become Patriarch of Ottoman Constantinople under the name of Gennadios II) had already written a pamphlet in favor of Aristotle, and Plethon now sends him his objections. Our manuscript does not reproduce the entire letter, merely the introductory paragraph where Plethon criticizes Scholarios for not sending him his pamphlet and for lying about this; Plethon asserts that having now acquired part of it by other means, he clearly sees Scholarios' ignorance and unsound train of thought. Plethon is quite offensive and ridicules Scholarios.<sup>108</sup>

Though there are other philosophical and theological texts in *Gr 8* (Plethon's treatise *On Virtues* is presented in full, just to mention one example), in this case the subject matter of the treatise does not seem to have been the scribe's first priority. Choosing only the rhetorically juicy part of the introduction must have filled another function: was it for the mere fun of it? Did Theodoros think it useful as a model in his own rhetorical or authorial enterprise? The position of the text in the codicological unit does not provide any definite clue on this. Preceded by Plethon's *On Virtues*, it begins in the middle of a verso page and ends in the middle of the next page, and the texts which follow belong to the same cultural setting (on these, see more below). Supposing the main arguments of this philosophical controversy were familiar to a professional scribe like Theodoros—and there is nothing which speaks against that—it is quite plausible that he made a deliberate selection of this *psogos* part of the treatise.

Cardinal Bessarion's correspondence includes both private letters of personal, literary, or philosophical content, and official letters and reports.<sup>109</sup>

<sup>108</sup> Plethon's offensiveness is more understandable when seen against the background of a long period of disagreement between the two men. Already during the Council of Florence they were avid opponents in church matters as well as in their philosophical outlook. In fact, when Plethon first wrote his treatise on the differences between Plato's and Aristotle's conceptions of God (*On the differences*), it was George Scholarios who convinced Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos that Plethon had rendered himself guilty of heresy, and when Plethon's *Book of Laws* finally came into Scholarios' hands, he arranged to have it burnt (MOHLER 1923, 204). On Plethon's and Scholarios' views of Aristotle, see further KARAMANOLIS 2002.

<sup>109</sup> Bessarion's correspondence has been collected and edited by Ludwig Mohler (MOHLER 1942).

The three letters in *Gr 8* (Text 25) all belong to the first category. *Ep. 22*, written shortly after Plethon's death in 1452, is addressed to the two sons of Plethon, Demetrios and Andronikos. It is a letter of condolence and veneration: Bessarion eulogizes his teacher Plethon as the most admirable man in Greece, who in himself had Plato's soul come down to earthly life anew. *Epp. 49–50*, though written some ten years later, are actually closely connected to the Plethon-text we have just encountered above. The controversy between Aristotelians and Platonics continued after Plethon's last word was said,<sup>110</sup> and one of the scholars who wrote yet another defense of Aristotle against Plethon's ideas was Theodore Gazes. His treatise is not extant, but we still have Bessarion's reply to it.<sup>111</sup> On another occasion Gazes opposed Plethon's critique on the Aristotelian category of "substance."<sup>112</sup> Gazes' views were furthermore attacked by Michael Apostoles, and he, in his turn, was rebutted through Andronikos Kallistos' writings.<sup>113</sup> Bessarion was convinced that no inherent opposition was to be found between Plato's and Aristotle's teachings, and he tried to mediate in this heated debate, both through his own reconciliatory treatises, and through personal addresses to people involved. This is where the other two letters in *Gr 8* come in.

*Ep. 49* is the reprimand Bessarion sent to Michael Apostoles, scolding him for his youthfully injudicious comments on Gazes' treatise.<sup>114</sup> "One should not abuse one's opponents; rather, it is by providing proof and logical arguments that one should both support a friend and defend oneself against the enemy," he says. "If indeed Plethon has flung mud at Aristotle, and if Theodore has done it with Plethon, and if you have spoken ill of Theodore, then all things said seem to me to be past reason and need. For it is not possible to reproach Aristotle who has done us so much good; neither Plethon who is wise and a truly good man (well, if it were not for the fact that he started the abuse and those who defend themselves could be granted some pardon...)." One could argue that here we have the key to why the scribe

<sup>110</sup> So much so, that even after half a century there was a scholar who composed a critique of Aristotle and had it published under the pseudonym of Pletho himself. On this late and somewhat misdirected support of Pletho written by the Augustinian friar Nicolaus Scutellius, see further MONFASANI 2005.

<sup>111</sup> MOHLER 1942, 88–90. Theodore Gazes (ca. 1400–1475) was born in Thessalonica but fled to Italy in 1430. He took part in the Church Council at Florence-Ferrara, and as the successor of Nicholas Sagundino (on him, see more below) he taught Greek in Ferrara in 1440–1449. He also enjoyed the patronage of King Alfonso of Naples and spent his last years in Calabria, translating Greek texts into Latin. Aristotle was one of the authors to whom he dedicated his translating efforts (GEANAKOPOLOS 1989, 68–90).

<sup>112</sup> MOHLER 1942, 153–58.

<sup>113</sup> MONFASANI 1992, 238. For the contributions by Michael Apostoles and Andronikos Kallistos, see MOHLER 1942, 159–203.

<sup>114</sup> This letter was written at Viterbo's thermal baths and is dated Μαΐου μηνὸς ἐννάτῃ πρὸς δεκάτῃν ἄγοντος, ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ, αὐξβ' (*Gr 8*, f. 167<sup>v</sup>). This ought to refer to the night between the ninth and tenth of May. Cf. however Mohler: "Der Brief stammt vom 19. Mai 1462" (MOHLER 1942, 511; the edited text, p. 513, reads ἐνάτῃν πρὸς δεκάτῃ).

Theodoros included only the *psogos* part of Plethon's letter (Text 24): the offensive tone in that part of Plethon's letter is precisely what Bessarion refers to in *Ep.* 49.

Bessarion defends Plethon as a thinker even though he does not agree with his views, and the instructions he gives to Apostoles are plain: "If you wish to obey me, you should hold both Aristotle and Plato as the wisest, follow them in their tracks, and make each of them your guide."<sup>115</sup> Bessarion uses the rest of the letter to further explicate his arguments for this, and also to explain why Theodore Gazes and Andronikos Kallistos are to be commended for their contributions to the debate. Bessarion also exhorted Apostoles to learn from Andronikos. Apparently Bessarion then decided to send Andronikos Kallistos a copy of *Ep.* 49, because *Ep.* 50 is just a short note which he attached: "From Cardinal Bessarion to Andronikos Kallistos, to study. I read both what Michael confusingly had composed against Theodore and your criticism of him. I have delivered my verdict and vote on them, and I now send you a copy of what he received. For it is neither necessary nor easy for one who has been charmed, to write more extensively to you. (I also put down from where and when I sent it to Michael)."

The next letter in *Gr* 8 also comments on the writings of Theodore Gazes and Michael Apostoles. It was sent to the same Andronikos Kallistos from Nicholas Sagundino (Text 26). Sagundino—in Greek Sekoundinós—was a Venetian from Negroponte (Euboia) who had been taken prisoner by the Ottomans when they sacked Thessalonica in 1430. Thanks to his linguistic skills he served as interpreter at the Council of Florence-Ferrara, where he also made Bessarion's acquaintance.<sup>116</sup> With the exception of only four letters, his extant correspondence is written in Latin.<sup>117</sup> The letter to Andronikos Kallistos was sent from Viterbo in early June 1462, and Sagundino definitely sides with Theodore Gazes and Andronikos Kallistos against Michael Apos-

<sup>115</sup> Εἴ τι οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθῃ, καὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀριστοτέλη σοφωτάτους ἡγούμενος, κατ' ἕχρος τε τοῦτοις ἐπόμενος, ἐκότερον ἡγεμόνα τε σαυτοῦ ποιοῦ. *Gr* 8 has πάθῃ instead of πείθῃ, but that reading is clearly wrong.

<sup>116</sup> Already from these few letters of Greek humanist scholars, it is obvious how closely knit this community was. We have met some of these names already in Chapter 3 (especially persons who worked as scribes on commission of Bessarion and others; Michael Apostoles, Michael Souliardos, Antonios Damilas). Another entry to this circle of colleagues and friends, several of whom had originally met at Florence-Ferrara, is offered us in Text 81 (see Chapter 5). The position as interpreter at the Council was first offered to Francesco Filelfo, who had to renounce it for political reasons. The skillfulness of Nicholas Sagundino, however, is well attested: he could translate the speeches of both parties straight off in the Council sessions (MOHLER 1923, 123).

<sup>117</sup> The edition of this letter is still the one made by Boissonade in 1833 (reprinted by Migne, *PG* 161, 691–696). Another Greek letter of Sagundino's was edited by Mastrodemetres (MASTRODEMETRES 1965). According to Mastrodemetres' survey, the letter from Sagundino to Andronikos Kallistos is extant in fifteen manuscripts, but he did not include *Gr* 8 among them (MASTRODEMETRES 1970, 149–154). Sagundino also wrote a treatise on the "rules" of Greek and Latin letter-writing, "*De epistolari dicendi genere*" (MASTRODEMETRES 1970, 129).

toles.<sup>118</sup> That he is more verbose than Bessarion is also clear; in the eleven manuscript pages that his letter covers in *Gr 8* he says less than Bessarion did in half the space.

One text which definitely belongs to the subject of epistolography, but on a more practical level, is Text 81. Moreover, it also gives some interesting perspectives on people connected with Bessarion's network of humanists. This text is a mid-fifteenth century collection of letter-headings, a formulary which provides instructions mainly on how to address public officials of various kinds. Text 81 is dealt with more thoroughly in Chapter 5, below.

### Why these letters in *Gr 8*?

To wrap up this overview of letters in *Gr 8*, we may benefit from a list on where they are situated:

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<b>U3</b>	Text 7 (Gregory of Nazianzos)	narrative
	Text 8 (Hippocrates)	d:o
	Text 9 (Anacharsis)	d:o

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<b>U4</b>	Text 11b (Diocles)	medical
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<b>U6</b>	Text 24 (Plethon)	polemic
	Text 25 (Bessarion)	humanist and pacifist
	Text 26 (Sagundino)	d:o
	Text 36 (Isidore)	d:o

<b>U8</b>	Text 42 (Tzetzes)	in verse; instructive
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<b>U9</b>	Text 43 (Simokates)	moral, rustic, and amatory
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<b>U13</b>	Text 67 (Basil)	personal; models
	Text 68 (Libanios & Basil)	d:o
	Text 69 (Gregory of Nazianzos)	d:o
	Text 70 (Basil)	d:o
	Text 72 (Gregoras)	display

<b>U15</b>	Text 81 (formulary)	practical
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As we have seen above, there are letters of many different kinds in *Gr 8*, and presumably they ended up in the manuscript for a number of reasons. The

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<sup>118</sup> The town of Viterbo is known as a Papal resort, both due to its stout walls which gave refuge in times of strife, and its hot springs which were thought to be beneficial for the Pope's health. In 1462 Pope Pius II (Enea Silvio Piccolomini, 1405–1464) went to Viterbo seeking relief for his gout, and Nicholas Sagundino, who was the Pope's secretary at the time, apparently accompanied him there (MASTRODEMETRES 1964, 254).

sheer reading experience must not be overlooked: there are more than a few examples of amusing and intriguing subject matter. The skill with which many of the letters were wrought would have contributed to the pleasure of reading as well: the polished language form, the rythmical clause endings, the disguised or open allusions to other literary works, et cetera. This would also have made the letters suitable as models if one were to create letters of one's own. The epistolary production of authors like Libanios, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nazianzos soon became models of style, and they remained so throughout the Byzantine period and even beyond.<sup>119</sup> These late antique letters were all placed as a group by Theodoros, in U13 (one letter by Gregory excepted). In that same unit we also find Nikephoros Gregoras' letter. The ancient fictitious letters are placed in U3, in close proximity to other narrative works, and they probably functioned as such, too. Gregory of Nazianzos' *Ep.* 114, also in U3, may easily be regarded as that kind of text as well, with its focus on fables and stories. The Anacharsis letters also display similarities in subject matter to Isocrates' speech *To Demonicus*, as both deal with *paraenetics* (advice on how to lead a virtuous life and how to govern justly), and these go together in the same codicological unit.

Tzetzets' letter does not really strike one as a letter: the contents are too much of a catalog, and the direct addressing of the letter's recipient is vague. This text together with the commentary to it (*Chiliades*) make up U8, and they are immediately followed by the collection of Simokates' letters in U9. The humanist letters, from the circle of Plethon and Bessarion, are also placed as a group and follow upon another text by Plethon: *On Virtues*. One could argue that these were included because they reflect the philosophical debates in the Quattrocento, but they are also interesting as specimens of derogatory letter-writing, either in themselves or as comments on other offensive writings. These letters are situated in U6, where we also have other fifteenth-century writings, by Mark Eugenikos (Texts 30–31). In the same unit, U6, we come across the two letters by Isidore of Pelousion, interesting for their strong viewpoints on warfare and on a soldier's career.

It seems quite clear that Theodoros' organization of his book, or at least of the contents inside each codicological unit, was very much premeditated. We are thus encouraged to give some respect to miscellaneous manuscripts like *Gr* 8: the first impression may be that a book looks disorganized and confused, but it may be worth the effort to try to look beneath the surface.

## Philosophical and theological texts

The philosophical texts in *Gr* 8 can roughly be divided into three groups: a) the ancient or early Byzantine works, authored by Gregory Thaumaturgos,

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<sup>119</sup> Cf. GRÜNBART 2007, 129.

John Philoponos, and Theodoret of Kyrros; b) anonymous works, therefore precarious to date; c) late Byzantine works, mainly by George Gemistos Plethon. A common denominator in many of these texts is the focus on the soul: what is a soul, how can it be defined, described, analyzed? However, the fact that these—undeniably philosophical—questions are discussed and answered in accordance with Christian beliefs blurs the distinction between philosophical and theological texts, and this is why I have decided to treat the philosophical and theological items in combination. According to Katerina Ierodiakonou, the general tendency nowadays is to allow for a clear dividing line between Byzantine theology and philosophy.<sup>120</sup> But it is one thing to look at the situation in institutional education (where, for example in Italy, philosophy was always linked with medicine and was unrelated to theology), and another to ask what an individual makes of his interests in different areas. Thus there were many a theologian during these centuries who took an interest in philosophical matters. In addition, the roles of ecclesiastics and lay persons were not always separated: one and the same person could be a teacher in one period of his life and a servant of the Church in another.<sup>121</sup>

Whether it is feasible to raise partition-walls between philosophy and theology must also depend on which questions are at stake in the philosophical discussion, and, at least for our treatment of *Gr 8*, the combination of these categories is functional: we will start out with the texts which may count as “hardcore philosophy,” and then work our way over to more strictly theological turf, ending with devotional matter.

## Cosmology according to the ancient philosophers

Text 56

Needless to say, Theodoret had an agenda as a Christian author and a bishop: in his work *Cure of the Pagan Maladies* (Text 56) he wanted to show the superiority of Christian doctrine over the Greek thinkers of old.<sup>122</sup> In this process he presented a long line of ancient philosophers together with some of their viewpoints. Xenophanes and Parmenides on the perpetual unity and immutability of the cosmos: if it is everlasting, Theodoret objects, then it is without beginning and without cause, and that cannot be; the belief in a

<sup>120</sup> IERODIAKONOU 2002, 2. On the comparable situation regarding boundaries between philosophy and theology in Western Europe, cf. also KRISTELLER 1979, 42.

<sup>121</sup> A peculiar turn of the arguments occurred in Plethon’s and George Scholarios’ polemic against each other: Scholarios, the theologian, argued that it was a defect in Plato to mix different disciplines, such as physics, mathematics, and theology, while the philosopher Plethon stated in his reply that “disciplines which are incomplete require other disciplines which are more complete to supplement them”; thus, as geometry needed arithmetics, “physics and ethics would never be complete without theology” (WOODHOUSE 1986, 46; Scholarios, *Contra Plethonis ignoracionem de Aristotele* iv, 83; for Plethon’s reply, see PG 160, 993B).

<sup>122</sup> Thdt, *Affect* 4.5–16; 4.32–42; 5.8–52; and 6.11–26 are included in *Gr 8* on ff. 262<sup>r</sup>–278<sup>v</sup>.



Creator must prevail (no need to add here that the discussion of the “first cause” has continued throughout the centuries and no less so in the fifteenth century, with its concern to link Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy to Christian dogmas). One may be tempted to put Theodoret’s argument down to Scriptural influence, but he may actually just as well be referring to Plato.<sup>123</sup> Theodoret proceeds with Democritus’ theory of the void and the solid, Metrodorus of Chios on the undivided, and so forth. The fifth element is mentioned in passing, form and matter discussed at length (the name-dropping naturally includes Plato and Aristotle, but also Xenocrates, Thales, Heracleitus, Pythagoras, Epicurus, Crates, Zeno, and many more). Now, how could these philosophers be right and trustworthy about cosmos, when “they not only disagree vehemently with each other but also at the same time borrow from each other,” Theodoret argues.<sup>124</sup>

In the next excerpt in *Gr* 8, Theodoret does refer to Plato’s *Timaeus* and *Republic*, commending some of Plato’s theories on cosmological matters and challenging others. As for the excerpting technique, the joint was apparently skillfully wrought, rendering the omission of paragraphs 17–31 nigh to undetectable. Having mentioned Aëtius, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Xenophon in § 31, Theodoret says “but all of these I leave aside, instead focussing on Plato” (Thdt, *Affect* 4.32). In the excerpt of *Gr* 8, Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἅπαντας παραλείψω has become Ἐγὼ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, κτλ., which here comes to serve as a reference to all the ancient philosophers mentioned in the preceding excerpt. It is also intriguing to see that the excerpt in *Gr* 8 only includes those Platonic ideas which Theodoret approved of. Shortly after the break, in § 4.45, Theodoret continues with those Platonic theories that did not harmonize with his own views, but that part was omitted by the excerptor. Whether our scribe Theodoros was responsible for this selection himself or got it from a model manuscript, it is still food for thought that someone at the time, in the century which had seen so much debate on Aristotle versus Plato, took pains to collect and include arguments for one side only—the one *pro* Plato.

The two remaining passages from Theodoret treat human nature and fate. The purpose is still to establish how the Christian views differ from the philosophers’ (ὅσον τὸ μέσον τῶν τε θείων καὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων δογμάτων, § 5.8). The greater part of the opinions of poets and philosophers is discarded,<sup>125</sup> but Plato’s teaching is, once more, seen as rewarding, although

<sup>123</sup> On the opinion that nothing comes into being without cause, and that we therefore must reckon with a creator, a demiurge, see Pl. *Tim.* 28a–29a.

<sup>124</sup> Thdt, *Affect* 4.15: Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐν τούτοις διαφωνία γε πλείστη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐχρήσαντο.

<sup>125</sup> Aristotle gets a real scolding in §§ 5.46–47: not only did he set himself up in opposition while Plato was still alive, showing no respect, but recklessly adopted views which were very much inferior (πολλῷ γε χείροσι χρησάμενος δόγμασιν), such as the soul purportedly being mortal and the earth being deprived of God’s providence.

mainly as a presentiment of the full truth found in the Scripture. As we will see below, the subjects of the soul, reason, free will, and fate are brought up for discussion in other texts in *Gr 8* as well.

## The soul

Texts 6, 53, 57, (59), 60

Most of the philosophical texts in *Gr 8* focus on problems which in a way may be said to be timeless, but which were fervently discussed by fifteenth-century humanists: the immortal human soul, and the question of fate and predestination.<sup>126</sup> We have already seen this in the passages from Theodoret's *Cure* (Text 56), and the fact that these subjects were elaborated on both with and without religious overtones is not surprising. One anonymous text on the soul is found on ff. 254<sup>r</sup>–256<sup>v</sup> (Text 53); perhaps it was even composed by the scribe Theodoros himself?<sup>127</sup> “The views we hold on the soul and its essence we expound in this wise,” it begins,<sup>128</sup> and the subject is then developed in several hierarchical stages, illustrated at the end of the text with diagrams of “theories on the soul” (τῶν περὶ ψυχῆς θεωρουμένων), its properties, faculties, perceptions, states of mind, et cetera.<sup>129</sup> The text, which is easily comprehensible thanks to its structure, may have been compiled for teaching purposes (or for someone who needed to sort out these matters for his own sake). To some extent its contents overlap with the explications on the soul in Texts 16–17; on these, see more below. It is also reminiscent of Theodoret's outline in §§ 5.19–22 of the *Cure*, although in the case of Theodoret a synopsis is given of the views of several philosophers (Pythagoras, Plato, Xenocrates, Aristotle, the Stoics), whereas in Text 53 the intention seems to be to create a coherent stance on the soul and its properties. Another difference is that in Text 53 there are no references whatsoever to indisputedly Christian ideas. A micro-text which also treats the soul and its faculties is Text 6. This, too, is non-committal as to Christian ideas, but there

<sup>126</sup> On the immortality of the soul, which became “one of the most important and characteristic themes of Renaissance philosophy,” see KRISTELLER 1979, 181–196. Evidence of the ongoing debate on fate is found in Plethon's treatise *Περὶ εἰμαρμένης* (PG 160, 961–964); in several treatises on predestination and fate by George Scholarios (PETIT et al. 1928, 390–460); in Cardinal Bessarion's correspondence with Plethon (*Epp.* 18–20; MOHLER 1942, 455–465), in Bessarion's own treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis* III, 30–31; MOHLER 1927, 418–421); and in Matthew Kamariotes' two orations, where he attacked Plethon's treatise (MONFASANI 1976, 207). Several of the Italian humanists also contributed to the discussion, among them Marsiglio Ficino (see further KELLER 1957).

<sup>127</sup> A passage in the text purportedly refers to Plato (ταύτη τοι καὶ μακρότερον ὕπνον καὶ κάλλιστον ἐνυπνίων ὁ Πλάτων ἐκάλει τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν), but the phrasing does not seem to have its origin there. It may derive from Theophylact Simokates' *Ep.* 37; in *Gr 8* this letter is included on f. 230<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>128</sup> Ἄς μὲν ἔχομεν δόξας περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς ἐκτίθεμεν ὧδε. A rubricated heading was meant to precede this sentence, but was never put in.

<sup>129</sup> For a transcription of Text 53, see Appendix 1.

are nevertheless close parallels in patristic authors as well as in ancient texts.<sup>130</sup>

Text 57 (inc. Ἐντελέχεια) is a less lucid text which treats the concept of entelechy, the forming, governing principle of matter. The subject is treated by several Aristotelian commentators on *De Anima* (Alexander of Aphrodisias, John Philoponos, Simplicios), but the text in *Gr* 8 seems to be unknown. Since it is not very coherently written, it should perhaps rather be taken as notes, or a rough draft. In the manuscript the text follows directly on the passages from Theodoret's *Cure of the Pagan Maladies*, and, since entelechy is treated also in that text, albeit briefly,<sup>131</sup> it seems that there was a thought behind the arrangement of these texts on the part of our scribe Theodoros. Perhaps one could even suppose it to be Theodoros' own notes, brought in as an afterthought to Theodoret's text. Text 57 is an attempt to define and explain the concept linguistically, but also by illustrating the full realization of a human being: a human being is an entelechy not when he as an embryo lives in the womb, still being formed and perfected, but when he is detached and brought forth, consummated according to the human form (εἶδος). Thus, the soul is defined as the full realization of the physical, instrumental body, which (in itself only) has the potentiality (δύναμις) for life. That is what Aristotle says in *De Anima* 412a 27, and also what Theodoret refers to. But Theodoret equated *entelecheia* with *energeia*, actuality/activity, whereas in Text 57 this identity is denied. This may be an indication that it is Theodoros himself who wishes to comment upon and correct Theodoret's version. The last sentence of Text 57, καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια λέγεται, ἡγουν ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια, may seem a bit unrelated to the rest of the account, but it could be a way of supplementing the definition through another reference to Aristotle.<sup>132</sup> As for *entelecheia* and *energeia*, Aristotle is admittedly vague on the distinction,<sup>133</sup> although in the *Metaphysics* the two terms are subtly distinguished, so as to make *energeia* "tend toward" or "implicate" *entelecheia*, i.e. complete reality.<sup>134</sup> It may be of interest that the concept of κίνησις was explicitly brought up also in the Quattrocento con-

<sup>130</sup> The text, which was put as a page filler after Isocrates' speech *To Demonicus* (or. 1), is unpretentious and short enough to have been passed down in florilegia. A similar passage is found, e.g., in Jo. Dam. *virt.*, PG 95, 85B–C. Text 6 is included in Appendix 1.

<sup>131</sup> Thdt, *Affect* 5.17–18: ὁ δὲ Σταγειρίτης ἐντελέχειαν πρώτην σώματος φυσικοῦ οργανικοῦ, δυνάμει ζῶνι ἔχοντος ἐντελέχειαν δὲ τὴν ἐνέργειαν κέκληκεν.

<sup>132</sup> Aristotle's definition is somewhat modified: ἔστιν δ' ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια κινητοῦ ἀτελὲς (Ar. *Phys.* 257b). Cf. also Ar. *Metaph.* 1066a.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Pierre Canivet's comment on Theodoret's definition: "Quant à l'identité que Théodoret établit entre les termes ἐντελέχεια et ἐνέργεια, elle est assez conforme à l'usage du philosophe, qui 'emploie indifféremment les deux termes'" (Canivet 1958, 231, n. 4, referring to J.-M. Le Blond, *Logique et Méthode chez Aristote*, Paris, 1939, p. 429).

<sup>134</sup> Ar. *Metaph.* 1047a: ἐλήλυθε δ' ἡ ἐνέργεια τοῦνομα, ἡ πρὸς τὴν ἐντελέχειαν συντιθεμένη, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἐκ τῶν κινήσεων μάλιστα· δοκεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐνέργεια μάλιστα ἡ κίνησις εἶναι. Ar. *Metaph.* 1050a: τὸ γὰρ ἔργον τέλος, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια τὸ ἔργον, διὸ καὶ τοῦνομα ἐνέργεια λέγεται κατὰ τὸ ἔργον καὶ συντείνει πρὸς τὴν ἐντελέχειαν.

troversy on Plato and Aristotle. In his *Defense of Aristotle*, George Scholarios argued that the verb κινεῖν meant not only “to move” but also “to make,” as in making something change from non-existence to existence, from potentiality to actuality; Plethon disagreed with this linguistic shift in meaning.<sup>135</sup>

A text that represents philosophy at an elementary level is Text 60 (inc. <”Ε>τι συστοιχίας τινὰς ἐξεῦρον οἱ πυθαγόριοι). It follows upon an enumeration of the Seven Sages and the maxims ascribed to them,<sup>136</sup> and since these sages were at times—although not explicitly in Text 59—also seen as great inventors, Text 60 seems like a spontaneous addition to that text:

The Pythagoreans, too, invented corresponding categories, ten in number to which every existing thing can be referred as to ten elements: good – bad; finite – infinite; excessive – well-fitted; unity – plurality; right – left; light – darkness; male – female; being at rest – moving; straight – curved; square – oblong. And yet another eight opposites which are said to pervade through all bodies, being original and common: warmth – coldness; humidity – draught; lightness – heaviness; softness – harshness; elasticity – brittleness; smoothness – roughness; thinness – thickness; porousness – denseness. Three kinds (of measurement): measuring the line, the surface, the solid. Of these the first is about length, the other about length and width, and the last about all three dimensions. Five forms (to measure): square, triangular, rhombic, trapezium, circular.<sup>137</sup>

## Gregory Thaumaturgos et sqq.

Texts 16–19

With these texts we return once more to one of the more ponderous philosophical topics: the soul. When discussing dividing lines between philosophy and theology, it may be instructive to take a look at a part of the manuscript, that is somewhat ambiguous in its structure: ff. 128–138. From a codicological viewpoint there is a coherence here, at least from the way the section is laid out with rubricated initials and titles/subtitles. Nevertheless, it seemed sensible to catalog it as four different texts, due to their origin and content. Conceivably, the break between Texts 18 and 19 was less necessary, but we will come back to that in a moment. The first text starts with an attribution to

<sup>135</sup> Scholarios, *Contra Plethonis ignorationem de Aristotele* iv, 28; Plethon, *Contra Gennadii defensionem Aristotelis*, in PG 160, 1008); cf. WOODHOUSE 1986, 247 and 290.

<sup>136</sup> The selection of sages in Gr 8 corresponds to Diogenes Laërtēs’ list in *Lives of the Philosophers* i. 13. Cf. also i. 41–42, on other possible constellations of sages.

<sup>137</sup> For the Greek text, see Appendix 1. Although this specific text seems to be unknown, there are numerous parallels to its different parts in other commentaries. See, for example, Alex. Aphr., *In Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria*, ed. Hayduck, 41. 32–38; Sophonias, *In Aristotelis libros de anima paraphrasis*, ed. Hayduck, 101. 14–16; Ar. *Metaph.* 986a 22–26; Heron, *Geometrica*, 3. 18–22.

Gregory Thaumaturgos: Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς.<sup>138</sup> The other three texts follow in sequence, with only subtitles and no attributions, so as to suggest that Theodoros copied the whole lot as if it were a work by Gregory Thaumaturgos. Yet, the author of the second part (Text 17) is in fact John Philoponos, and the next two items are anonymous and seem to be unknown. The first two texts are more philosophical in kind, the latter two lean toward theology.

Let us first look at Text 16. The preamble following the title is truncated at the beginning compared to the edited text (*PG* 10, 1137–1145), but it gives no impression of incompleteness: “A discourse on the soul, with consecution and order such as those who are experts in these matters have employed towards those who desire to investigate the matter intelligently.”<sup>139</sup> These lines are analogous to the last four lines of column 1137 in Migne’s reprint of Vossius’ edition (*PG* 10, 1137–1145). What was lost from the preceding section is the personal address to (the otherwise unknown) Tatian, and the explanation why Gregory chose to use non-Scriptural vocabulary to elucidate important facts about the soul, although he writes to Tatian who is also a Christian; Tatian had apparently asked for precisely such advice, since he needed to use these arguments when confronting pagans, i.e., without resorting to the testimonies of Scripture (although that would be a method which, “to those who seek a pious mind, proves a manner of setting forth doctrine more convincing than any reasoning of man”).<sup>140</sup> The treatise deals with seven questions on the subject of the soul: 1) by what criterion can the soul be apprehended? 2) by what means can it be proven to exist? 3) is it a substance or an accident? 4) is it a body or incorporeal? 5) is it simple or compound? 6) is it mortal or immortal? 7) is it rational or irrational?

Text 17 consists of a number of excerpts from John Philoponos’ *Commentary to Aristotle’s De Anima*.<sup>141</sup> Once again, the soul is in focus. This time the issues are: the incorporeality of the soul (since it holds the body together); the senses (also incorporeal, since they can perceive opposites at the same time through the same sense); the mind (incorporeal and more advanced than the senses, since the senses do not know anything about themselves and do not seek that knowledge, whereas the mind does); faculties and actualities (and their corporeality); the soul as eternal and separable from the

<sup>138</sup> Gregory Thaumaturgos, or the Wonderworker, was a student of Origen who later became bishop of Neocaesarea, Pontos (ca. 213 – ca. 270 CE). He wrote a panegyric on his teacher, and a small number of his theological works are extant.

<sup>139</sup> Λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς ἀκολουθία τινὶ καὶ τάξει ἥπερ ἐχρήσαντο οἱ περὶ ταῦτα δεινοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιστημόνως ζητεῖν ἐθέλοντας.

<sup>140</sup> English translation by S.D.F. Salmond in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* (ROBERTS & DONALDSON 1986, VI 54–56).

<sup>141</sup> On the extent of the excerpts in Hayduck’s edition, see Appendix 2. John Philoponos (ca. 490 – ca. 570) taught science and philosophy in Alexandria and was a prolific author of works which criticize both Neoplatonist and Aristotelian concepts. He contributed innovative hypotheses of his own, for example on dynamics (SORABJI 1987, 7–16).

body; perishables are destroyed by dissolution or fire, but since it was proven that the soul is incorporeal and separate from the body, it will not be destroyed either way. The excerpting procedure has compressed the account compared to Philoponos' original work, but it was done intelligently, so that the summarized text of *Gr 8* seems neatly knit together. And yet, very few deviations were made from Philoponos' own wording: a couple of φησὶν ("he says") were dropped, something which would make the text seem more like an authoritarian statement and less of a neutral recounting of someone else's viewpoints.

When it comes to Texts 18–19, one may hesitate whether it would not have been possible to itemize these as one combined text instead of two. In the transition between Texts 18 and 19 there is nothing in the layout which announces that a new text begins, not even a subtitle.<sup>142</sup> The two texts are similar to each other in language and expression, but they treat slightly different subjects. Thus, I suspect that they may have come from the same original treatise, or at least to have been composed by the same author. But since I cannot prove this, I abide by what was said about codicological units in the preceding chapter: it is better to keep them apart if the evidence is unclear. Consequently, although it is possible that the two texts are related, I have left this question open, in the hope that the passages may eventually be identified and the question be settled more definitely.

Text 18 gives an exposé of the carnal, the natural, and the spiritual life.<sup>143</sup> What does it mean to live in these states? Those who live carnally are obscured in their thoughts, the clouds of their passions are like high walls blocking out the beams of the Spirit. They fight over worldly things, privileges and carnal pleasures. Those who live naturally are fools, they are weak, self-loving, never toiling for virtue but shrinking from blameworthy deeds because they care what people say. They fuss over their bodies and terrestrialize their minds. Being empty of the Holy Spirit there is in them no love of God nor neighbor, no self-control, no compassion: it is all pride and arrogance. The last group, finally, are those who are led by the Spirit of God. They practice the spiritual life, purging their souls and chastizing their flesh. By prayer and meditation they fill their minds with light. They transcend to the things that are beyond sense-perception and receive the wisdom of God. Thus they become the salt of the earth and the light of the world.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>142</sup> The floriate initial at the outset of Text 19 is the same size as those within Text 18. The signs that Theodoros uses to announce the end of a text and the end of a paragraph (two dots and a line) are also the same. The size of these signs may differ, but that has more to do with the accessible space; one may compare the sign just before Text 19 (f. 137<sup>r</sup> l. 3) with the sign inside Text 16, on f. 128<sup>v</sup> line 10.

<sup>143</sup> Inc. Τρεῖς ἀποκαταστάσεις τοῦ βίου οἶδεν ὁ λόγος καλεῖν· σαρκικήν, ψυχικήν καὶ πνευματικήν. For the translation of ψυχικός here as "natural," cf. 1 *Cor.* 2:14. This state represents human life as such without the divine dimension, i.e., body and mind but no spirit.

<sup>144</sup> For the Greek text, see Appendix 1.

Text 19 picks up what was said in the preceding paragraph, i.e., it further elucidates the spiritual life and the stages one has to go through on the way to perfection. The three stages are the purgative, the illuminative, and the mystical (perfective).<sup>145</sup> This is actually what was said at the end of Text 18, but here the author goes into more detail. The aim of the purgative stage is to throw off every poison of sin, being smoldered in the ascetic fire, hardened and tempered in the bath of compunction, thus becoming a sharp and mighty sword against passions and demons. When one has reached this stage of passionlessness the illuminative stage follows: here the aim is the word of wisdom which makes distinct the natures of beings, the recognition of divine and human affairs, and the revelation of the mysteries of the heavenly kingdom. The mystical stage is for those who have already run the whole course and reached the maturity of Christ. Then one rises above everything, drawing close to the first light, searching the depths of God through the Spirit. The aim is to initiate the one thus perfected into the hidden mysteries of God.<sup>146</sup>

The combination of texts only just touched upon shows the intricate merging of what we may call philosophical inquiries and spiritual guidance. There is no way to separate the religious sphere from the philosophical. The outer wisdom (ἡ ἔξω σοφία) was not necessarily on edge with the divine Word: one read and used Aristotle and Plato as one needed and wished. This is apparent already in the excerpts from John Philoponos' commentary on Aristotle. The question of the mortal soul was a stumbling block in Aristotle's philosophy for Christian thinkers, but although the excerpts above have Aristotle's philosophy as a startingpoint, we still end up with an immortal soul separable from the body, contrary to Aristotle's original views. This development was apparently facilitated by the fact that the excerptor picked up Philoponos' reasoning along the way.

## Reverberations from the Ferrara-Florence discussions

Texts 23, (24), 40, 41

Byzantine thinkers continued to relate to Plato's and Aristotle's philosophy, and the waves of discussion were higher than ever in the middle of the fifteenth century, at the time of decline of the Empire. Old arguments were brought to life in the debates around a possible Church union, at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39, and through the intensified relations between Byzantine intellectuals, who had a broad education in both (Neo)Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy, and humanists in the West, who were trained mainly in the scholastic tradition and to whom Plato's works

<sup>145</sup> Τρεῖς εἰσὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ποιουμένοις τὰς προκοπὰς τῶν τελειοποιῶν ἀναβάσεων· καθαρτική, φωτιστική, μυστική ἢ τελειοποιός.

<sup>146</sup> See also Appendix 1.

had the charm of novelty when they became accessible in new translations.<sup>147</sup> In the wake of these debates, theologians in the East and in the West had to adjust not only to dogmatic discrepancies but also to the different traditions of interpreting the ancient philosophers. This tension is reflected in treatises and letters written by many of the great intellectuals of the time: Plethon and George Scholarios, Bessarion and the circle around him—we have already met them above in the section on epistolography. I would like to emphasize one point, though, something which is not always highlighted, but which George Karamanolis has expressed very clearly:<sup>148</sup> George Gemistos Plethon wrote his treatise against Aristotle’s philosophy (*On the differences*) not because he wanted to place himself in opposition to the Christian faith but because he considered Plato’s philosophy to be closer to Christian doctrine than Aristotle’s. Scholarios, on the other hand, was undertaking the same kind of apologetic task, but favoring Aristotle over Plato. This was not a fight over pagan versus Christian philosophy but a question of which interpretation of the ancient philosophers adhered most closely to Orthodoxy.<sup>149</sup> One of the issues that Plethon focused on was precisely the immortality of the soul. In other treatises Plethon apparently did experiment with more esoteric outlooks—Zoroastrian, Pythagorean, Neoplatonic—but the dispute on Plato versus Aristotle was an internal affair within Christian bounds.<sup>150</sup>

In addition to the *Reply to George Scholarios’ Defense of Aristotle* (Text 24), there are two other works by Plethon in *Gr 8*: his treatise *On Virtues* (Text 23), and a treatise on the views of the Roman Church regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit (Text 40). The latter is clearly related to the Council discussions, the former perhaps not, although some scholars believe that it was composed in Italy; at least we know that John Eugenikos made a copy of it in 1439, on his way home from Ferrara.<sup>151</sup> Brigitte Tambrun-Krasker argues that it may just as well be an earlier work by Plethon.<sup>152</sup> *On Virtues* was probably intended to befit a general public (as opposed to *The Laws*, for example, which was written for the intimate circle of like-minded

<sup>147</sup> For a summary of the Plato-Aristotle controversy, see for example MONFASANI 1976, 201–229.

<sup>148</sup> KARAMANOLIS 2002.

<sup>149</sup> Cf. also Bessarion’s four-volume treatise *In calumniatorem Platonis*, where the first subtitle of vol. 2 reads as follows: “ὅτι τὰ Πλάτωνος μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ Ἀριστοτέλους τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν συμφωνοῦσι θρησκείᾳ” (MOHLER 1927, 80).

<sup>150</sup> Plethon had no direct knowledge of either ancient or contemporary zoroastrianism (WOODHOUSE 1986, 63). The limitation of his “acquaintance” with Zoroaster was the so-called *Chaldean Oracles*, which were made up of Platonic, Neopythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian elements, probably compiled in the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. CE; on these, see further DANNENFELDT 1957.

<sup>151</sup> WOODHOUSE 1987, 179; KNÖS 1950, 178; François Masai’s view, that it was composed in the years that followed 1439, is ruled out by John Eugenikos’ copy of the work (*Par. gr.* 2075); cf. MASAI 1956, 402.

<sup>152</sup> TAMBRUN-KRASKER 1987, xxxiv.



at Mistra) and became Plethon's most widely distributed work.<sup>153</sup> Since Tambrun-Krasker has provided a modern edition of the work together with a French translation, I will not pursue the discussion of it here, but just add that it is a well-composed but not very innovative treatise founded on Platonic and Stoic ideas, but also incorporating Aristotelian and Christian elements.<sup>154</sup>

The treatise *Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine* is much less known (Text 40, incipit *Τὸ ὑπὲρ Λατίνων βιβλίον*). It has, as far as I know, only seen one edition, in Dositheos Notaras' *Τόμος ἀγάπης κατὰ λατίνων*, printed in Jassy, Moldavia 1698.<sup>155</sup> Dositheos, patriarch of Jerusalem, wrote in reaction to Cyril Loukaris' efforts to renew Orthodox Christianity in pro-reformatory direction, and in the compilation of *Τόμος ἀγάπης* he found Plethon's treatise expedient for his purposes.<sup>156</sup> In *Gr 8* there is no original heading to the work: an owner of the book copied a few words from the incipit (and a prayer formula), and the El Escorial secretary Nicholas de la Torre added τοῦ αὐτοῦ κατὰ λατίνων in the upper margin. In Dositheos' edition the title is *Πρὸς τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόγματος βιβλίον*.<sup>157</sup> The treatise Plethon replied to here was John Argyropoulos' *Πᾶσι μὲν ἄλλοις*.<sup>158</sup>

Upon Plethon's text on the Holy Spirit follows another, shorter text which also treats the *filioque* question (Text 41).<sup>159</sup> It lacks a title but has been given

<sup>153</sup> At least 65 manuscripts are known plus several editions and translations into Latin, Italian, and other languages (TAMBRUN-KRASKER 1987, xxix; MASAI 1956, 248, n. 1).

<sup>154</sup> Plethon's text ends with a chart over all the virtues; this is reproduced on the front cover of this book.

<sup>155</sup> Reprinted in *PG* 160, 975–980.

<sup>156</sup> Cyril Loukaris was the patriarch of Alexandria from 1601 and of Constantinople 1620–1638. He was the driving force for a modern Greek translation of the New Testament (carried out mainly by Maximos Rodios from Gallipoli and printed in Geneva after Cyril's death in 1638). Cyril's contacts with Protestant churches of northern Europe were ill seen in Orthodox as well as in Catholic circles, and he was finally executed on the charges of high treason. From a book-history point of view it is worth mentioning that Cyril Loukaris introduced the first printing press in the Greek world: in 1627 he invited the printer Nikodemos Metaxas to set up a press in Constantinople. Metaxas set off printing religious—mostly anti-Catholic—books and tracts. The Jesuits, however, instigated an attack on the printing house and the janissaries destroyed the press only a few months after it had been set up (KITROMILIDES 2006, 193–201; see also ROBERTS 1967). It is intriguing that the very next attempt to set up a Greek press on Ottoman soil, was initiated by Patriarch Dositheos. This was installed in 1682 in the monastery of Cetatuia, close to Jassy, i.e. under the Phanariote regime in Romania. Thirty-eight Greek books (four of them bilingual) were printed here up until 1710 (BOUCHARD 2005, 36).

<sup>157</sup> This must not be confused with the treatise which often goes under the name of *Reply to Scholarios*, *Πρὸς τὰς ὑπὲρ Ἀριστοτέλους Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου ἀντιλήψεις*, i.e. Text 24 in *Gr 8*.

<sup>158</sup> MASAI 1956, 389–392.

<sup>159</sup> On the place of the *filioque*-controversy in the discussions at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, see for example PAPADAKIS & MEYENDORFF 1994, 379–408, esp. 401f. A presentation of one of the main (pro-Greek) sources of the Council, the *Memoirs* of Sylvester Syropoulos, Grand Ecclesiarch of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople, together with some glances at two other sources, the *Acta Graeca*, a record by a prounionist bishop (Dorotheos from

an attribution by a later reader, probably the person who owned the book around 1546 (cf. above, p. 78): μαρκος ὁ φεσηος ἀποφαση του πατρη-αρχ(ου).<sup>160</sup> Nicholas de la Torre, who created the index to our book at El Escorial, inaccurately attributed both this and the preceding (i.e. Plethon's) text to Mark Eugenikos (Μάρκου Ἐφέσου). However, even though Text 41 does not, as far as I know, correspond with any published work of Mark Eugenikos, bishop of Ephesus, it may perhaps communicate his answer (ἀπόφασις) or his views on this matter in the Council discussion of 1439. At least there are expressions and phrases included which closely resemble what Eugenikos uses in other council-related texts. The text is not well-wrought but seems rather more like a draft or notes taken down.<sup>161</sup> Mark Eugenikos and Bessarion were appointed chief representatives at the Council (πρόκριτοι ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ), and were granted imperial authority to reply to the Latins' arguments. Eugenikos seems to have come to the Council with the earnest wish to see a durable union on dignified terms, but was dejected by what he saw coming in the discussions. In the end, Eugenikos was the only bishop who refused to sign the decree of union.<sup>162</sup> Eugenikos and Bessarion had known each other long, they had been classmates in John Chortasmenos' school in Constantinople and had both studied under Plethon.<sup>163</sup> But in theological matters they stood widely apart: Bessarion, with his thorough philosophical and humanist education, was influenced by the Aristotelian Thomism, whereas Eugenikos had a more traditional, monastic background, and had his heart set on hesychasm in its Palamite form.

## Fate and predestination

Texts (29), 30–32, (56), (73)

In the excerpts from Theodoret (Text 56), treated above, we came upon the problem of fate and God's providence. In *Gr 8* this topic is brought up in some other texts as well. Two of these have an explicit attribution to Mark Eugenikos, this time made by the scribe Theodoros himself (Texts 30–31).<sup>164</sup> Again, they seem more like a report of Mark Eugenikos' opinions or

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Mytilene?), and the *Acta Latina* by the papal lawyer, Andrea of Santacroce, is given by GEANAKOPOLOS 1991. See also <http://www.syropoulos.co.uk/biblio.htm>.

<sup>160</sup> This would probably be Patriarch Joseph II, who was present at the Council in Florence. But since Mark Eugenikos was in fact sent there to represent the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem, one cannot say for certain. Cf. TSIRPANLIS 1974, 41.

<sup>161</sup> For the Greek text, see Appendix 1.

<sup>162</sup> In addition to the *filioque* controversy, the main theological issues of divergence between the churches were the purgatory, the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, and, of course, the primacy of the Pope (TSIRPANLIS 1974, 50).

<sup>163</sup> TSIRPANLIS 1974, 39.

<sup>164</sup> Text 30: Γνώμαι τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρκου τοῦ Ἐφεσίων περὶ ὅρου ζωῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως. Text 31: Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀναλογίαι τῶν ἀπειλουμένων κολάσεων πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα. See also Appendix 1.

thoughts (γνώμαι), i.e. notes or excerpts made by someone else than the bishop himself.<sup>165</sup> Text 30 discusses predestination and eternal punishment; Text 31 describes how the punishments of sinners are given in analogy with their transgressions: deep outer darkness for those who have loved the inward darkness of ignorance, the poisonous worm for sins of the flesh, Tartaros for those who have grown cold in their love of God and neighbor, et cetera. According to George Scholarios, Mark had early on been summoned by the Emperor to explain his theological stance on predestination.<sup>166</sup> Could the notes which ended up in *Gr* 8 have been taken down already on this occasion?

Text 32 is a theological problem, ἀπορία, stated briefly and answered with the help of frequent references to Scriptural passages, much in the vein of ἐρωταποκρίσεις, question-and-answer literature, a genre which is often represented in miscellaneous manuscripts.<sup>167</sup> In its subject matter it also follows neatly upon the two preceding items in *Gr* 8, which deal with predestination and eternal punishment. The text is anonymous, and since I have no secondary material on it I let it speak for itself:<sup>168</sup>

**Problem:** How does God endure that such a large crowd of people around the whole world perishes, all those who are incessantly destroying their lives in sin?

**Solution:** Tell me, what kind of crowd are you referring to? Good people also seemed to be in the crowd. Have you not heard that for God “all the nations are like a drop from a bucket; they are regarded as spittle” (*Isa.* 40:15). Do you not understand the unsurpassed greatness of God’s power? Have you not heard the prophet saying “He holds the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants on it like grasshoppers” (*Isa.* 40:22)?

Tell me, how many fleas did you thoughtlessly crush on your body, or how many caterpillars on the vegetables? But a man who preserves his image (and likeness with God) untouched and through virtue makes himself familiar to God, him cannot even the whole world outweigh. But if he gives up the divine portion and falls into the beastly way of life (*Ps.* 72:22), then an earthworm that preserves its natural state is more preferable to God than he is. The Lord loathes a bloodstained and deceitful man (*Ps.* 5:7).

Do you not see the corpse, how we all loathe it? And we cover it up with earth, so that it does not fill everything with its worms and putrid liquids and foul smell and decay. Such is to God the soul that has acquired sinews (muscles) through sin and separated itself voluntarily from the godly life.

Punishment after death is a subject treated also in Leo VI’s poem of contrition (Text 73), discussed above.

<sup>165</sup> The text includes wordings like κρίνει ὅτι (“he distinguishes, interprets that”) and λέγει ὅτι (“he says that”).

<sup>166</sup> PETIT et al. 1928, 428.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. HEINRICI 1911, 6. On Greek question-and-answer literature, see also PAPADOYANNAKIS 2006.

<sup>168</sup> For the Greek text, see Appendix 1.

While on the subject of predestination and punishment, Text 29 (inc. Διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν) should be mentioned. It presents an unusual view on what happens to children if the parents beget them during the woman's menstrual period. The children are destined to fall ill in horrible diseases, but the illness will always surface at a certain time in their life depending on when (which day and hour) during the menstruation the conception took place. Text 29 is discussed in Chapter 5.

## More on virtue and vice

Texts 34, 46, 52, (55), 77

Virtue and vice—always a topical subject—is also brought up in Text 34, an excerpt on the eight enticements to sin (gluttony, lust, avarice, wrath, grief, indifference, conceit, and arrogance). Whereas in the Catholic tradition one counts with seven deadly sins or capital vices, it is notable that Text 34 only speaks of enticements, or bad thoughts (λογισμοί), that may or may not lead to the commitment of sin:

Whether all these bad thoughts harass us or do not harass us is not in our power to decide. To be assaulted is one thing, to harbor the thought in one's mind is another, to give room to passion is still another, (and another to fight back), assent is one thing, outright activity another.<sup>169</sup>

The text has been attributed to three different authors: John of Damascus (ca. 650–ca. 750), Athanasios of Alexandria (ca. 295–373), and Ephrem the Syrian (306–373). The textual tradition which Theodoros had at hand was the one associated with John of Damascus. However, in all three cases these texts further explain how one can behave when faced with temptation, whereas the text in *Gr 8* cuts off in the middle of this exegesis, without explaining the last two steps (συγκατάθεσις and ἐνέργεια) and their consequences. This seems a bit odd, since Theodoros actually had a few more lines at his disposal on the page. It could, however, be that this blank space was insufficient for copying the whole paragraph, and accordingly Theodoros cut off at a “good” line in the exegesis, just where we are invited to wrestle and so resist the temptations that would lead to sin.

On virtue, there is also the prose paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianzos' poem with the same name, *On Virtue* (*Carm. mor.* I. 2, 9), but this text, Text 55 in *Gr 8*, has already been discussed above. Likewise, Plethon's treatise *On Virtues*, Text 23, has been mentioned. Under the same heading one could certainly add large portions of the gnomological texts in *Gr 8*, but we will save these until later and discuss them among the practical texts.

<sup>169</sup> Jo. Dam., *De virtutibus et vitiis*, PG 95, 93A (CPG 8111).

It may seem from my treatment here that there are countless entrances into the subjects of philosophy and theology in *Gr 8*. To be clear: yes, these texts do color the overall impression of the manuscript, and prove that Theodoros had a genuine interest in these matters. But the texts are in themselves so diverse in genre and style, poetic, prose, learned, simple, “modern,” (i.e. for someone in the fifteenth century) and ancient, that we get a rich and interesting picture of the field. I also hope to have shown that the texts were not selected randomly: there are themes which recur time and again, and link different parts and units of the manuscript together with others.

## Devotional, biblical, and liturgical texts

Texts 33, 44, 76, 79, 80

Let me end with a few texts of a more devotional kind. A prayer to the Theotokos, *Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν Θεοτόκον* (Text 33), seems to be unknown from other sources and I have not found it in any repertories of Byzantine hymns and related material (such as Enrica Follieri’s *Initia hymnorum*). The prayer, as it is called in *Gr 8*—perhaps one could categorize it as a “hymn” written in fifteen-syllable verse—begins with the address Παντάνασσα, πανύμνητε, παρθενομήτορ κόρη. Even if the text as a whole seems to be uniquely presented in *Gr 8*, there are a few musical manuscripts from later centuries which show that at least the first four lines of it were used as a *kalophonic heirmos*.<sup>170</sup> These later manuscripts correspond with each other in wording, but differ slightly from *Gr 8* in lines 3–4:<sup>171</sup>

Παντάνασσα, πανύμνητε, παρθενομήτορ κόρη,  
ἡμῶν ῥημάτων ἄκουσον καὶ πρόσχεῖς μου τοῖς λόγοις.  
ἴδε δακρύων σταλαγμούς, ἴδε ψυχῆς τὴν λύπην.  
ἴδε καὶ μὴ παρίδῃς με, δέσποινα θεοτόκε.

<sup>170</sup> *Par. suppl. gr. 1135*, ff. 219<sup>v</sup>–222<sup>r</sup> (mid-18<sup>th</sup> c., Kition); *Vindob. suppl. gr. 190*, f. 170<sup>r-v</sup> (late 18<sup>th</sup> c.); *Par. suppl. gr. 1136*, f. 196<sup>r-v</sup> (before 1819); *Par. suppl. gr. 1140*, ff. 93–96 (after 1827); catalog entries in ASTRUC&CONCASTY 1960, 246–259 and 272–277; HUNGER ET AL 1994, vol. 4, 331–333. All four manuscripts present Meletios Sinaites’ composition of the hymn, and in one of them, *Par. suppl. gr. 1140*, there is also an alternative version by Archbishop Germanos (both of them 17<sup>th</sup>-c. composers). A *kalophonic heirmos* is a hymn which functioned as a musical accompaniment during, or in connection with, the service in church; it could, for example, be sung during mass, when the bread was distributed. This hymn, i.e. the short version of Text 33, is flagged as “unedierte” in the Vienna catalog, but it was apparently printed in *Εἰρμολόγιον καλοφωνικόν* (Γρηγορίου Πρωτοψάλτου), Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1835; reprinted by Κουλτούρα as facsimile sine anno. I am grateful to Professor Hilkka Seppälä for providing me with this piece of information.

<sup>171</sup> In Text 33, lines 3–4 read as follows (*Gr 8*, f. 193<sup>v</sup>): ἴδε δακρύων σταλαγμούς, ἴδε τοὺς στεναγμούς μου | ἴδε τὴν λύπην τῆς ψυχῆς, ἴδε καὶ μὴ παρίδῃς. For the rest of the text, see Appendix 1.

Furthermore, in the *akolouthia* which John Eugenikos wrote over his brother Mark, bishop of Ephesus, there is an *exaposteilarion* which might echo the first line of Text 33: its second strophe starts with the line Παντάνασσα, πανύμνητε, Θεομήτορ παρθένε.<sup>172</sup> On the other hand, the thesaurus of phrases to use would have been there for anyone to combine, as is obvious from, e.g., Ephraem the Syrian's collection of hymns to the Mother of God.<sup>173</sup>

Lastly, there are some biblical and liturgical texts in Gr 8: the Decalogue or Ten Commandments (Text 44), some psalms (Texts 76 and 80), and also *Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, and *Credo* (Text 79).<sup>174</sup> One would imagine the Ten Commandments to be a text which everybody knew by heart, making it superfluous in a manuscript. Nevertheless, it is not included as an "extra," as a page filler. Rather, it seems planned with as much diligence as any other text, with spaces left for rubricated initials for every commandment, and so forth. In the manuscript the text is followed by a list enumerating the biblical patriarchs and Jewish, Chaldean, Persian, Syrian, Egyptian and Roman kings/emperors. Both the psalms and the liturgical items are set bilingually; evidently, these were intended as language practice, with the Greek words put in above and carefully matching each Latin word. To use the *Book of Psalms* as a primer was more or less standard procedure during the Middle Ages (when it replaced Homer as the students' first acquaintance), and thus it also made sense to employ these well-known texts when introducing a new language. Apropos of Texts 40–41 which deal with the problematic addition of *filioque* to the creed, one may observe that the *Credo* in Text 79 includes the *qui ex patre filioque procedit* / ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς υἱοῦ τε ἐκπορεύεται, with no extra comment whatsoever. Apparently, the issue was no longer so hot so as to incite Theodoros to make any remarks on this in his book. Perhaps the question was of less concern precisely because the text was supposed to be a mere language lesson.

## Practical texts

Is it possible to distinguish how texts in a certain book were used? Or for what intended use they could have been gathered in the first place? Perhaps not specifically, unless there are actual traces in the form of comments, marginal notes and the like. But the textual types themselves may invite a reader more or less patently to go about using them in a practical way. It may also be the case that we find it hard to imagine any other function for some of the

<sup>172</sup> The *akolouthia* over Mark Eugenikos has been edited by Louis Petit; for the *exaposteilarion*, see PETIT 1927, 221.

<sup>173</sup> Ephr. *Precationes ad dei matrem*, ed. PHRANTZOLES 1995, 354–413.

<sup>174</sup> Ps. 32 (= LXX, Ps. 31); Ps. 38 (= LXX, Ps. 37); Ps. 51 (= LXX, Ps. 50); Ps. 6.

texts. Can an enumeration of bishoprics ever be enjoyable to read for its own sake? Would a description of the parts and potencies of the soul inspire anyone to leisurely reading? I think one must conclude that a large portion of *Gr 8* consists of precisely these kinds of texts. Nevertheless, as with all categories, this also has its border cases: lists of anecdotes, proverbs, historical tidbits would easily trigger a reader's imagination. As soon as there is a trace of narrativity in a text, there is also a good chance that it could have been kept for its reading value, regardless of other aspects of usefulness. Let us therefore start out with these micro-narratives, the chreiae and anecdotes, and then work our way toward the more technical texts, the lists, lexica, collections of arithmetic examples, procedures of fortune-telling, language exercises, and so forth.

## Gnomical texts

Texts 5, 10, (88)

To this cluster I count collections of sayings, scattered maxims which often function as page fillers, and, in addition, works which to a great extent are built up from sayings and proverbs. The reason why I put these among the "practical texts" is their role as treasuries; some of them may have offered moral guidance, but most were probably quarries: if you wanted to write a letter, give a speech or a sermon, or even appear bright in a dinner conversation, you needed these morsels of famous sayings and anecdotes, proverbs and words of wisdom. This was true not only for ordinary readers (whoever these were). In Byzantine literary works, in letters and speeches as well as in the larger narratives we find it illustrated time and again: the same anecdotes, adages, and fine-sounding phrases recur frequently.

One rather excessive example of the use of proverbs in a literary work is Isocrates' speech *To Demonicus* (Text 5 in *Gr 8*). Although *To Demonicus* traditionally counts as an oration, it is, as I stated above, in its form more of a treatise or a letter. In his hortatory treatise Isocrates has collected and connected admonitions and precepts which could be useful to a young man who aimed at living a good and virtuous life. The compositional technique was not uncommon: one finds the same "gnomic" character in works by Hesiod, Theognis, Pindar, and Menander.<sup>175</sup> But in the case of *To Demonicus* this has become a stumbling block for its authorial attribution to Isocrates. Scholars have criticized the treatise's lack of style and form precisely due to its integration of many proverbial wordings.<sup>176</sup> Among Byzantine readers (and authors) this critique would have seemed inconceivable. To use well-known

<sup>175</sup> THÜR 1998, 1112.

<sup>176</sup> The debate around the (in)authenticity of *To Demonicus* is the concern of my article "Bodybuilding for the Soul: Earnest Words are Needed. The Case of Isocrates' Speech *To Demonicus*" (forthcoming).

wordings and pithy sayings when composing literature, especially in classifying Greek, was not a sign of lack of originality; the thing was to use them intelligently, to make a point, to sum up, to vary your composition, et cetera.

Aphoristic literature has a long record, in Greek as well as in other cultures, and it is not unreasonable to count the fables of Aesop (Text 88) to this same sphere of didactic, gnomonic and proverbial literature. Since these were treated in the section on narrative texts, I will here mention another work, which was composed on the basis of earlier anecdotes and legends: the *Alexander romance*. In numerous versions and languages the story became widely disseminated during the Middle Ages. In Gr 8 it is represented by a few anecdotes in Text 10, plus another ten in the gnomology starting on f. 238 (Text 48).<sup>177</sup>

## Gnomologies

Texts 35, 38, 48, (59),

Collections of sayings are often referred to as gnomologies (after the Greek word for sentence or thought, γνώμη), or *florilegia* (“pickings of flowers”). Among scholars, florilegia have been exploited mainly as sources of an otherwise lost (classical) literature, but there are other ways of looking at this kind of literature. One is to emphasize the role florilegia played in the process of the intellectual production of their own time, i.e. to put them into an historical-literary context. This path was taken by Marcel Richard, who was one of the pioneers on this genre, and Paolo Odorico has worked much in the same vein, for example in his study of John Georgides’ florilegium.<sup>178</sup> André Guillou considered the *Sacra Parallela* and similar collections as mirrors providing indications on the organization of Byzantine society, and proposed that they be used as a source for Byzantine *histoire de mentalité*.<sup>179</sup> Even if it is rational to count gnomical texts among the practical texts, as a form of *Gebrauchsliteratur*, I still think we must allow more than one area of use for the gnomological texts in our manuscripts: depending on their subject matter and the preferences of the collector/reader, they could have been compiled and copied for didactic purposes, for devotional use, as a help for the memory, as a treasury to draw from in one’s own creative work, for the sheer joy of having pithy and memorable aphorisms to relish and share with people, and so forth.<sup>180</sup>

<sup>177</sup> The Alexander legend is also referred to in Tzetzes’ *Chiliades*; in the excerpts included in Gr 8 one can read about Alexander’s taming of the horse Boukephalos (*Chil.* I, 28), and about Alexander’s two-colored eyes and bent neck (*Chil.* XI, 368). Tzetzes’ *Chiliades* and his letter to Lachanas were also mentioned above, among narratives and letters.

<sup>178</sup> ODORICO 1986, 4; Cf. RICHARD 1964.

<sup>179</sup> GUILLOU 1976, 11.

<sup>180</sup> On the Byzantine culture of compilation, see also ODORICO 1990; LEMERLE 1971.



There are a few florilegia in *Gr* 8, and we have already come across one, Text 48. This is a rather comprehensive florilegium, encompassing 19 pages in the codex. Organized alphabetically it starts out with sayings attributed to Alexander, Anacharsis and Aspasia and ends with the saying “Ὡςπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἰατροὶ πατέρες, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ νόμοι.”<sup>181</sup> Although organized alphabetically, it still seems to be a mix of different kinds of florilegia: some sayings are sorted by names, i.e. the person who supposedly said it; some are anonymous and are sorted by incipit instead. In Text 48, we have both principles in a blend. Within this investigation there is no place for mapping the earlier sources or related collections in any detail. I limit myself to a couple of observations. At present, there are about ten sayings which I have not identified in other florilegia. Since most of these happen to stand as the last few items per each letter in the alphabetic order, this may imply that they are recent additions to the collection, perhaps even added by the scribe himself. A case in point may corroborate this: the last three items under letter *alpha* are sayings attributed to Alexander. The very same items, however, are also part of Text 10, i.e., the Alexander sentences which Theodoros added toward the end of U3. If one of these two instances is secondary, relying on the other, it is probably Text 48, since in Text 10 these excerpts are given in the same order as they stand in the Alexander romance, whereas in Text 48 the order is jumbled. Another observation that may be of interest is the fact that a number of sayings which I have not found in other florilegia correspond to sayings incorporated in the *Life of St Cyril Phileotes*.<sup>182</sup> This twelfth-century work by Nicholas Kataskepenos is known from three manuscripts only,<sup>183</sup> and “shares many features with monastic-cum-sacro-profane *florilegia* compiled by near contemporaries including John the Oxite, Paul Evergetinos and Nikon of the Black Mountain.”<sup>184</sup>

Text 35 is another small collection of only ten sentences. One is attributed to Maximos the Confessor, six to Demosthenes, one each to Brutus and Aristotle, and one is anonymous. In the first sentence, we once again meet the soul, and its three parts—reason, will, and desire: “bridle the hot-tempered part of the soul through love, quench the passionate part of it through self-control, put wings on the rational part through contemplation, and the light of your soul will never grow faint.” The rest of the sentences display the same sentiment of virtue and common sense: “nobody can avoid death, but good men must always try to act honorably, offer good hope, and hold that

<sup>181</sup> This saying is rendered slightly differently in Nicholas Kataskepenos’ *Life of St. Cyril Phileotes* 46. 4, where the doctors, reasonably, are said to be the saviors of the sick, not their fathers.

<sup>182</sup> The lack of parallels in other florilegia is just a preliminary result that a thorough investigation may modify.

<sup>183</sup> *Cod. Athous Caracallou* 42 (a. 1341), *Cod. Marc. gr. II. 104* (16<sup>th</sup> c.), *Cod. Athous Lavra H 191* (18<sup>th</sup> c.); see further SARGOLOGOS 1964, 23–27.

<sup>184</sup> MULLETT 2002, 144.

god give magnanimously”; “to join someone in what one should not and not to join in what one should, amounts to the same thing.” Did Theodoros select these sentences specifically or were they already part of a florilegium which he had at hand? It is not easy to say, but one can at least say that there is no easily detectable principle which would explain the combination of sentences.<sup>185</sup> Text 59, on the other hand, is a short but coherent gnomology, covering the sayings which became attributed to the Seven Sages of Greece.<sup>186</sup>

Normally, florilegia are created by the combination of many source texts, but there are examples of one-author florilegia, and even florilegia which limit its source material to one single work. Examples of collections based on a single author are Menander’s “one-liners,” *Monosticha*, and the collection of Euripides citations. The core of the so-called *Gnomologium Byzantinum* is the sentences from three authors: Democritus, Epictetus, and Isocrates. In *Gr 8* there is one decidedly “monocultural” collection of excerpts and sentences, a gnomology which has Constantine Manasses’ historical work, the *Synopsis Chronike*, as its only source (Text 38). This collection of *Synopsis* excerpts is not unique; there are a number of similar gnomologies in manuscripts dated to the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries. When Odysseus Lampsidēs wrote his article on some of these gnomologies,<sup>187</sup> he did not include *Gr 8* in his survey, probably due to the poor quality of the Uppsala manuscript catalog, where the text is itemized merely as “Farrago sententiarum ex diversis excerptarum.”<sup>188</sup> Constantine Manasses’ twelfth-century chronicle is a colorful work, which presents lively stories and beautiful ekphraseis in a vein not far from the contemporary Komnenian novels. The contrast is stark between the chronicle in its entirety and the gnomology based upon it. What the excerptor selected in this case was above all the proverbial wordings, the moral at the end of certain episodes, and also occasional ekphraseis, in all probability because of their applicability, i.e., with the prospect of recycling them in other contexts, oral as well as textual. As I have shown in a recent article, this was not the only mode of selection; depending on personal preferences and the purpose of a certain collection, a compiler could gather mainly descriptions, or historical episodes, or material on the imperial family, et cetera.<sup>189</sup> The material was rich and the choices many. Compared to related collections, such as the one in *Bodleian Misc. 285* (*Auct. T* 5.23, 16<sup>th</sup> c.), the *Synopsis* gnomology in *Gr 8* is truncated: all the excerpts derive from the first half of Manasses’ chronicle. The position in the manuscript may be the reason for this, since the text was put in secon-

<sup>185</sup> For the whole collection of sentences, see Appendix 1.

<sup>186</sup> This text was mentioned among the philosophical texts, above.

<sup>187</sup> LAMPSIDēs 1985.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. catalog entries in GRAUX 1889, 39 and TORALLAS TOVAR 1994, 234. Originally, the expression comes from Sparwenfeld’s catalog (*Catalogus centuriae* 1706, 59).

<sup>189</sup> NILSSON & NYSTRÖM 2009, 54f.

darily, filling the last three folia of U6. Nonetheless, the location of the gnomology is not arbitrary: it goes well together with the preceding texts, which include many passages on virtue and vice plus gnomological material.

## Scattered sayings

Texts 10b, 37, 47, 54

Proverbs are regularly put in as page fillers in *Gr* 8, but this does not mean that they must be secondary from a scribal perspective. Three short proverbs or sayings finish off f. 196<sup>v</sup> (Text 37), and to judge from the ink and the decoration they were put in at the same time as the preceding material.<sup>190</sup> This may be compared to the subsequent text, the *Synopsis* gnomology, which Theodoros apparently added at a later stage, and which lacks both its title and rubricated initials.<sup>191</sup> That the scribe paid special attention even to the smallest additions in the book may be illustrated with Text 10b. Here the two proverbial sentences are thematically related to the preceding anecdote in Text 10a (on Alexander who saw a soldier being deloused by a woman): “The seemly adornment for a woman is not beauty but moderation”; “Like a golden earring in a pig’s snout, so is beauty in a heedless woman.”<sup>192</sup> Recycling of sayings may be observed even within *Gr* 8. The same Alexander sentences were included twice (in Text 10 and Text 48), and likewise, two of the sayings in Text 37 also appear elsewhere as a page filler (Text 54). Tagged onto a text dealing with the soul, these gnomic expressions on life, death, and philosophy here seem a perfect match. One of the two sayings, the “*memento mori* epigram” Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ, is also attested as an inscriptional epigram: it is found on a marble slab now im-mured in the exterior wall of the monastery of Xeropotamos (Mount Athos), and the same line is also known to have been inscribed in Palaiologan times on the Xyloporta in Constantinople.<sup>193</sup> Text 47 is another micro-text, this time put as a page filler after a long strophic poem with solemn contents, the so-called *Carmen paraeneticum* (see above, p. 136).

<sup>190</sup> F. 196<sup>v</sup>, the last three lines: Τύχης γὰρ μὴ παρούσης δυστυχοῦσιν αἱ φρέναι. Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ. Ὅρος φιλοσοφίας· μελέτη θανάτου.

<sup>191</sup> A reader has added what looks like a title in the upper margin of f. 197<sup>r</sup>, but it turns out to relate only to one of the excerpts on the next page (“The Trojan war, how Achilles died”).

<sup>192</sup> Πρέπων γυναικὶ κόσμος οὐ τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλ’ ἡ σωφροσύνη (Lib. *Decl.* 6. 2, 35); Ὡσπερ ἐνώτιον χρυσοῦν ἐν ῥινὶ ὕδς, οὕτω κακόφρονι γυναικὶ κάλλος (*Prov.* 11:22).

<sup>193</sup> Marc Lauxtermann suggests that the marble slab at Xeropotamos originally came from a monastic graveyard, either in Constantinople or elsewhere. Cf. LAUXTERMANN 2003, 243 and 350f.

## Lists

Texts 22, 45, 62, 63, 65

From the catalog of ships in Book Two of the *Iliad* to the endless enumeration of persons and professionals in Whitman's poem *Song of Myself*, literature is full of them, the lists, the enumeration of things, persons, offices, rulers, and what not. So why not in the miscellanies, a book form especially suited for minor works. "And of these one and all I weave the song of myself," says Walt Whitman, and a parallel may effortlessly be drawn with the miscellanies, so full of seemingly adversative texts. Among the lists in *Gr 8* are one of the seven wonders (Text 22), one on ancient inventors (Text 63), and so-called *Notitia episcopatum*, i.e., lists of all the patriarchates, metropolises, and sees in the Byzantine Church (Text 62).<sup>194</sup>

Text 45 is a long list of all the biblical patriarchs and Old Testament kings, kings from Jewish, Chaldaean, Persian, and Assyrian dynasties, and also the Roman kings/emperors from Julius Caesar, ὃς ἐφόνευσε τὸν Μπομπέιον Μάγνον, to Constantius, father of Constantine the Great, Κώνστας, ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου πατὴρ. This long list may also count as a short chronicle, since it presents some extras: small pieces of information on certain rulers and, in addition, several chronological notes on how many years had passed from Adam until this or that dynasty came into power. The enumeration ends with the phrase "from this time on, the emperors of the Christians," ἐντεῦθεν οἱ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖς. It is not fully clear whether this was meant as a heading to yet another paragraph, or if Theodoros simply chose to end on this note. Since there is room for another six lines or so on the page, perhaps the second suggestion is the more probable.

In Text 65 we meet the Palaiologan emperors and the Ottoman sultans. This list was later amplified through a reader's marginal notes: another three sultans and their respective conquests bring us all the way up to the battle of Mohács in 1526.<sup>195</sup> The original list of sultans ends with Mehmet II, who ruled from 1451 and conquered Constantinople two years later.<sup>196</sup> The fact that there is no mention of his successor is worthy of note, considering that—based on the watermarks—we have an approximative date for large parts of *Gr 8* to around 1481. Mehmet died in May 1481 and was succeeded by his son Bayezid II later that year. Although there are no guarantees that lists like these would always be updated by a scribe, the situation is at least

<sup>194</sup> On the topos of first inventor, πρῶτος εὐρετής, in encomia and other rhetorical texts, cf. THRAEDE 1962, 1202. On the list of bishoprics in *Gr 8*, see DARROUZÈS 1981, 443.

<sup>195</sup> See also Appendix 1. Similar examples may be found in Peter Schreiner's collection of "Chroniken Türkischer Eroberungen;" see, for example, Chronik 65–68 (SCHREINER 1975, I, 498–525).

<sup>196</sup> The date in the manuscript is *Anno Mundi* 6959, indiction 14. Mehmet had two periods of rule, first from 1444–46 and then from 1451.

suggestive of a dating of this part of the manuscript before May 1481, in accordance with the watermark evidence.

## Lexica

Texts 12, 50, 61, (76, 79–81)

This is another group of texts obviously included for their practical applicability, whether one's own interests were decisive or one needed the linguistic and factual information for teaching purposes. Text 12 is a botanical lexicon, which gives synonyms or explanations to herbs, roots, and all sorts of other things which were used as pharmaceutical ingredients or remedies.<sup>197</sup> Even though most items in the lexicon are botanical species, there is certainly a generous attitude to what fits in an enumeration like this: beer, glue, and occipital bones are found scattered among freshwater turtles, moles, and seal feces. The feeling is that one would rather not know what components were in the drug one just ate. A similar lexicon was edited by Armand Delatte, from *Parisinus graecus* 2318 (15<sup>th</sup> century), but some of the lemmata have more exhaustive explanations in *Gr* 8.<sup>198</sup> Another manuscript, which contains a botanical lexicon closely related to the text in *Gr* 8, is *Marcianus graecus* 292. This codex is of Cretan origin, most of it copied in 1306 by Michael Lulludes. Here, just as in *Gr* 8, the botanical lexicon follows upon Paul of Aegina's *Medical compendium*.<sup>199</sup>

Text 50 is a lexicon of synonyms, which seems to have advanced literary vocabulary as its focus, words which one would encounter when reading the *Septuagint*, Homer, and ancient tragedy, for example. Both this and the botanical lexicon are organized alphabetically, i.e., from *alpha* to *omega* according merely to the first letter of each word but not the rest. A comparison of Text 50 with edited lexica of a similar kind seems to suggest that many entries come close to the readings in Pseudo-Zonaras' lexicon. But there are lemmata included that would rather point in other directions, to an affinity with the lexical corpus of Hesychios, the *Suda*, *Lexicon Segueriana*, et al. None of these seems to offer a clear-cut model for Text 50.

Yet another lexicon gives evidence of linguistic interests. The subject matter of Text 61 is glosses from all kinds of Greek dialects, including Roman loanwords: <Τ>οῖαι γλῶσσαι καταπόλεις, αὗται καλοῦνται γλωσσήματα, "words such as there are in each city (such as are called glossems)." <sup>200</sup>

One unit of *Gr* 8, U15, exemplifies linguistic practice by the widespread method of "take a text that you know well, preferably by heart, add a transla-

<sup>197</sup> Inc. ἀκτέα· ἡ κουφοξυλέα, expl. ὤκυμον· τὸ βασιλικόν. See also Appendix 1.

<sup>198</sup> DELATTE 1939, 372–377.

<sup>199</sup> TURYN 1972, I, 105; the botanical lexicon is a later addition to the manuscript and not in Lulludes' hand. On Michael Lulludes, see also TURYN 1973.

<sup>200</sup> Inc. Ἀθηναίων. ἄγαν· λίαν. ἄλις· ἄρκεϊ. λοπῶς· ἱμάτιον.

tion of it word for word, and you have a language lesson.” The texts selected for this purpose are, not unexpectedly, drawn mainly from the Psalter (Text 76 and 80) and the liturgy (Text 79). A letter formulary, examples of how to address different people, is also included among the bilingual—Latin and Greek—items in U15 (Text 81).<sup>201</sup>

## Medical texts

Texts 11, (12), 13, 14, 15, (29)

The medical texts in *Gr 8*, among which the medico-botanical lexicon must be counted, is a clearly demarcated genre in the book. Just about all the medical material is gathered in a codicological unit of its own, U4. The only medical subject matter located elsewhere in the manuscript, in U6, is a text which I mentioned among the theological texts; it is also treated more thoroughly in the next chapter: Text 29 (inc. *Διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν*). That text is indeed concerned with medical questions, but the “scientific” medical explanations are combined with a theological and moral message in a vein unrelated to the more strictly medical texts discussed here.

The medical material in U4 comprises five texts, or possibly six, if we consider the fact that the first and longest text, by Paul of Aegina (Text 11), also incorporates a fictitious letter from Diocles of Karystos to the Macedonian King Antigonos.<sup>202</sup> This letter, which is an exposé “on illness, whence it comes, which the signs are and how one should approach it,” is transmitted as the last chapter of Book One in Paul of Aegina’s *Medical Compendium*. But one may also come across it transmitted independently.<sup>203</sup> Although, in *Gr 8*, the letter obviously belongs to the tradition of Paul’s works, following as it does upon chapters 73–99 of the same book, it is clear from the layout of the manuscript that our scribe, Theodoros, considered it a separate text (cf. p. 82). Chapters 73–99 offer a survey on foodstuff and nutritional matters as well as some advice on sleep and insomnia.

Text 12, the medico-botanical lexicon, has already been mentioned above. Following upon the lexicon are two texts possibly chosen from a personal

<sup>201</sup> The psalms and liturgical texts were mentioned above, among the devotional texts. For the formulary, see Chapter 5.

<sup>202</sup> Paul of Aegina was a physician and surgeon in 7<sup>th</sup>-c. Alexandria, whose encyclopaedic work deeply influenced Arab medical teachings, and thereby in turn Western medieval medicine. The fictional character of Diocles’ letter has been confirmed by Felix Heinimann, not only due to the chronological difficulty in combining the activity of the Attic physician Diocles (fl. 340–320 BCE) with a king by the name of Antigonos, but even more cogently because of the contents: the dietary and non-pharmaceutical inclination of the teachings is such that it can hardly have been composed earlier than the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BCE (HEINIMANN 1955, 166). Arnaldo Momigliano, on the other hand, wanted to ascribe the letter to Aristogenes (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE), court physician to Antigonos Gonatas (Suda, α 3910 and α 3911, s.v. Ἀριστογένης; MOMIGLIANO 1933, 132–135).

<sup>203</sup> Cf. DIELS 1906, 27f. and 77f.

need: a pharmaceutical formula intended to provide a remedy “for swollen glands and edemas, a diuretic, also efficient on ischias” (Text 13), and a brief anonymous note on cyclamen and tamarisk as contraceptive and abortive agents (Text 14).<sup>204</sup> The last text of the unit, Text 15, could well be seen as supplementary and less significant material, filling up the page. It is an exposition on the stages of man’s life divided into seven-year phases. The excerpt, which comes from the Hippocratic tradition, has found its way into florilegia by way of excerpts from Philo.<sup>205</sup>

On the whole, the character of these medical texts does not point to professional medical practice. The medical information may be considered serviceable for someone interested in and taking care of his own health, keeping a wholesome diet, and so on. But there is also a component of cultural legacy; the herbs in the botanical lexicon are not there simply for their curative capacity. Some are definitely more of glosses on ancient texts, plants mentioned in the *Odyssey* for example. Most of the lexical material comes from Dioscorides’ *Materia medica*, but some lemmata reveal later influences. The epistolary form of Paul of Aegina’s chapter 100 is another hint that these texts may have been included in *Gr 8* as part of what may be called medicine as a topic useful for table-talk, conversational rather than therapeutical matter.<sup>206</sup>

## Mathematical problems

Texts 83, 84, 86

The penultimate quire in *Gr 8* contains a number of mathematical problems. I refer to these as two texts, Texts 84 and 86, since they present different methods of problem-solving and are separated by almost three blank pages in the middle of the quire (space which was later used for notes and scribbles, Text 85).<sup>207</sup> It is quite possible, however, that they were copied from one and the same model text. The blank spaces may indicate that Theodoros had planned to insert further examples later on. The first section (Text 84) presents algebra with the help of examples from daily life. The second (Text 86) deals with fractions and the addition, multiplication, and division of the same.<sup>208</sup> Part of a mathematical problem (Text 83) was also added by a later reader (see p. 107).

<sup>204</sup> The formula comes from Aëtios of Amida (Aët. XV, 15, 693–704). For the notice on contraceptives, see Appendix 1.

<sup>205</sup> Philo, *De opificio mundi* 105.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Ilias Pontikos’ discussion of the medical excerpts from Alexander of Aphrodisias included in *Cod. Barocc. 133* (13<sup>th</sup> c.): “a collection of natural questions of no great philosophical or medical value, reminiscent of the table-talk genre of writing which derived from the Late Roman period and was still popular among the Byzantines of that time” (PONTIKOS 1992, xxxvii).

<sup>207</sup> For the notes which make up Text 85, see p. 106.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. SEARBY 2003b.

## Astrology/divination

Text 66

In *Gr 8* one also finds a practical manual on geomancy, or sand divination. Theodoros apparently had far-reaching interests into different things. It is fascinating that this cultural expression is put side by side with pious texts (a prayer to the Virgin, spiritual guidance, doctrinal discussion, eschatology, etc.). Text 66 includes a zodiac, basic astrological lore, and a brief introduction to the art of *rampilon*, divination with the help of a random number of marks struck in the sand. One of the studies in Chapter 5 is dedicated to Text 66.

## An idiosyncratic selection

The delimitation of the group “practical texts” has been made on the basis of subject matter and the assumed function. In some cases the subject matter tends toward the range of subjects included in Byzantine education, though we have no hint that the volume ever functioned as a school book or teaching compendium *per se*.<sup>209</sup> Just as in Western Europe, Byzantine instruction included rhetoric, grammar, and logic (*trivium*), arithmetics, geometry, astronomy, and music (*quadrivium*).<sup>210</sup> Not all of these subjects are represented in *Gr 8*, and the texts in the volume are not really typical school texts. Theodoros’ selection of texts seems more idiosyncratic than that. Was it governed by personal interests or professional motives? With an educated scribe it is not always possible to draw the line between these incentives.

## Minding the gaps, bridging the differences

With miscellanies and composite books there is always the question “why did somebody put these texts together?” What was the purpose of it all? Are the pieces connected, and if so, how? *Gr 8* has been scrutinized from different perspectives. The codicological investigation revealed information on the overall structure of the book, on where—and how wide—the gaps are between different units. Despite the obvious composite character of the volume, there are still connective traits that knit units together: the handwriting, the writing material of several units, the decoration in some of them, the *mise-en-page*, to mention the most conspicuous. Another unifying factor is

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<sup>209</sup> The connection between miscellaneous books and schooling has been suggested in other studies, for example by Robert Black (BLACK 2003). This connection, however, is not self-evident and must be determined discriminately, from case to case.

<sup>210</sup> On Byzantine education during the last centuries of the Empire, see MERGIALI-FALANGA 1996 and MARKOPOULOS 2008, with further references.



the contents. To argue that one may find coherence in a volume with 90 texts, when they belong to so many different genres and centuries is not uncomplicated. Fiction, letters, medical texts, botany, mathematics, astrology, philosophy, theological queries, sermons, prayers, poems, speeches, chronicle material, sayings, lists and lexica: is there really a logic to all this? Perhaps not overtly; at least it would have been difficult to maintain this had the book been a composite created from units of various origin. But the unifier here is above all Theodoros himself. This was his book, his selection of texts, and that is why we need to bring in the perspective of use, even if that is a somewhat elusive category.

I argue that *Gr 8* was Theodoros' own book. It is his scribal creation, by all means, and the arrangement of the codicological units seems conscientious enough to let us assume that the book did not come about through a "cleaning of desk drawers." In any case the one who put the texts together knew what he was doing, and had full comprehension of which units and texts to combine: starting with *Stephanites and Ichneutes* (U2), next picking up the theme of prince's mirror in Isocrates' speech followed by further narrative texts (U3); having Plethon's and Mark Eugenikos' texts on the *filioque* controversy (U7) follow upon the units which hold other humanist texts, by Leonardo Bruni, Bessarion, Nicholas Sagundino as well as Plethon and Eugenikos themselves (U5–U6); and so forth. The addition of all the micro-texts in connection to—and often in style with—the larger texts also points to *Gr 8* being a personal book, and not something Theodoros intended to sell. All that extra work would not have paid off in a vending situation.

In the present chapter the texts from *Gr 8* were collected and connected into four categories. This gave us the chance of a bird's-eye view of the contents. The point of departure for the categorizing was the function that we may assume for these texts. At this stage we might even bring these categories down to three objectives that may have guided Theodoros in his compiling of texts: 1) "things I like to read" 2) "things I'm interested in" 3) "things that might be useful for me."<sup>211</sup> In many cases these three reasons for including texts may have interacted. The category of narrative texts, for example, would mainly go together with objective 1, but that does not exclude the possibility that some of those texts could have been of more practical use as well. The category of philosophical and theological texts would match with objective 2, but the intellectual (or devotional) side of these matters was just one possible reason for their inclusion; there may have been others. The rhetorical texts and the practical manuals are apparently bent on usefulness, objective 3, but there are letters, poems, and declamations which may just as well have been included for the pleasure of reading or for their subject matter. The same goes for some of the practical texts, which could well have

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<sup>211</sup> The third objective could include both private and professional applications.

been sorted under a different heading, had we wished to emphasize another aspect.

Can we draw any conclusions from the absence of some textual categories or genres? The diversity of the texts does not point to the book reflecting a specific profession, i.e., there is nothing in *Gr 8* that would prove Theodoros to be a lawyer, a physician, a priest, or even a teacher for that matter. But of course he could have owned those kinds of texts in another volume. What about the intellectual level of the contents of *Gr 8*? The book was written and laid out in a professional way, but it reveals few signs of having been intended as a scholar's book. It does not include much of marginal comments, scholia, or other learned activity. There are some reading signs in the margins in Theodoros' hand, glosses like σημείωσαι, ὁραῖον, ὁραιότατον, but most of them were added by later readers. The subject matter points more to a well-educated but not really specialist reader, a person who is informed of the intellectual trends in humanist circles, but who needs an all-round library rather than the most advanced writings and theories on a certain subject. An aspect which must be kept in mind is the "business side" of all this: Theodoros was a professional scribe, and however interested he may have been in texts for his own sake, it would have been necessary for him to think also about marketing, about having model texts at hand from which he could make copies for the benefit of his customers.

I initiated my investigation of *Gr 8* out of curiosity about a book type, the one which contains so many different texts so as to make you wonder why they were gathered in the first place. But the more I worked my way into the manuscript, its *mise-en-page*, combination of texts, combination of units, the more I saw the impact of the scribe's mindful work. Theodoros is no plain copy cat. There is definitely thoughtfulness behind the composition. Neither was this book created on somebody else's commission.<sup>212</sup> The reason for keeping the units unbound may, of course, have been their function as his own model texts; he could use them time and again in his professional work. After a time, though, Theodoros must have decided to keep the libelli as his own instead, added the micro-texts, thus creating the whole composite in a deliberate and attentive manner.

The next chapter will not be about the whole book anymore, and thus it stands a little apart from what I have been aiming at in the previous chapters. What I will do in Chapter 5 is to present a selection of minor texts from *Gr 8*, the kind of texts which are often included in multitext books but tend

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<sup>212</sup> This statement is valid for the codex as a whole. Individual units (perhaps U3–6 and definitely U17) may originally have been prepared for vending although for some reason they were instead set aside.

to be neglected in catalog descriptions. But they certainly contribute to the character of the book. These texts, too, are part of *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus* 8. It contains multitudes.



## TAKING A CLOSER LOOK



## 5 Delving deeper: a selection of texts

### “*Varia nullius momenti*” or significant components?

In the discussions above *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus* 8 has undergone both being torn apart into its codicological units and being glued together by speculations around the collective focus and purpose of the volume. Here we will gently pull out a few pages here and there, with the intention of acquiring a more thorough comprehension of a limited number of texts. What can they tell us about the world of ideas that our scribe Theodoros and his contemporaries embraced? Can we find imprints of a late fifteenth-century (post-)Byzantine mentality in the subjects which Theodoros chose to bring into his book?

My selection of texts for in-depth analysis is in a way arbitrary, since there was so much to choose from. One purpose, though, in choosing them was to present three very different texts to call attention to the width and variety in the book. Another challenge was to pick short and seemingly insignificant texts to see where a study of them would lead us. These are the kind of texts which at least in older manuscript catalogs, if at all mentioned, would have been described as *quisquiliae*, *nugae merae*, or *varia nullius momenti*—scraps, trifles, of little interest to anyone. Countering this, I argue that they are well worth our efforts. They not only work as an integral part of the manuscript books, where one often wished to use all pages to the limit. They can also be the texts which offer new insights, either because they have been overlooked by earlier scholars or because they represent more of a personal addition, something one would like to include although maybe not as a main category or first text of a unit.

The first item to be put under the magnifying glass is Text 29 in *Gr* 8, which belongs to the religious sphere. It is a short piece of moral instruction, which also dwells on the medical consequences of sexual misconduct, in this case represented by intercourse during menstruation. The text has, to my knowledge, never been published or discussed, despite the fact that it carries an attribution to John Chrysostom in our manuscript. Even if this ascription is likely to be spurious, it does add interest to the evaluation of the text and its cultural context.

The second one, Text 66, leads us on a tour into some of the astrological lore which, as part of the ancient Greek cultural heritage, lingered on and saw new developments in Byzantium as well as in Persian and Arabic-

speaking areas. Here the framework is an introduction to a divinatory art which became widely spread in the Mediterranean world during the later Middle Ages: *ramplion* or geomancy, divination with the help of sand.

In our third text, finally, Text 81 in *Gr* 8, we may catch a glimpse of the everyday conditions for post-Byzantine scribes and other intellectuals, whose sources of revenue in the political turbulence of the fifteenth century often depended on contacts with potential patrons and on the ability to start a new career “abroad,” in Italy or in other parts of Western Europe. The text is a so-called formulary, examples of how to address various officials. The formulary is bilingual, written in Latin with a Greek translation above each line and, as it follows upon several other short texts presented in the same way, it indicates to us the prevalent model of learning a new language: take a text which you know by heart, get a word-for-word translation and start memorizing.<sup>1</sup>

The first two texts are presented together with an English translation; in the case of the third, I figured the Latin translation would suffice. I have tried to interfere very little with the Greek text, with the exception of a slight normalization in the spelling (concerns the variation of η/υ/ει/οι, ο/ω, single/double consonants, and *iota subscriptum*). When not stated otherwise, the translations in this chapter are my own.

## Due to the lack of self control: Text 29

Text 29 is a modest component of *Gr* 8, occupying little more than two pages in the manuscript, or thirty-eight lines. It is introduced as being “by the same (author),” τοῦ αὐτοῦ, implying that its author was John Chrysostom; the preceding text is presented as a “sermon by the great Chrysostom on Herodias and wicked women.”<sup>2</sup> But considering the fact that the number of spurious sermons attributed to this author has been seen to surpass the genuine in bulk, this supposition is somewhat shaky.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless,

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the three texts included in this chapter, I have given yet another one a closer analysis, but the results were published as a separate article: Text 38, a collection of excerpts drawn from Constantine Manasses’ *Synopsis Chronike*, was added by Theodoros at the end of U6 (on pages which he initially had left blank). This gnomology, its relation to the whole chronicle as well as to similar “*Synopsis* gnomologies,” was explored with the focus put on how Byzantine texts were composed, read, used, and transmitted. The presentation was co-authored with Ingela Nilsson (NILSSON & NYSTRÖM 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Λόγος τοῦ μεγάλου Χρυσοστόμου κατὰ Ἡρωδιάδα καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν (printed, with a different title, *In decollationem praecursoris et baptistae Ioannis, et in Herodiadem*, PG 59, 485–490; CPG 4001 and 4570). The attribution of this sermon to Chrysostom is considered spurious (cf. MERCATI 1921, 231 and ALDAMA 1965, 138f.), but it is transmitted under his name both in Anastasios of Sinai’s *Quaestiones* and in the *Sacra Parallela*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CHAPMAN 1929, 73. According to Johannes Quasten some 300 spurious works are printed and another 600 works falsely attributed to Chrysostom still remain inedited (QUASTEN 1960, 470).



we must acknowledge that for the scribe of *Gr 8*, Theodoros, these two texts did pass as Chrysostom's works, thus carrying the weight of authoritative statements.<sup>4</sup>

The context in this part of the manuscript (U6) is made up of a fair number of near contemporary works, written in the intellectual milieu of Mistra and Italy in the mid-fifteenth century: by Plethon the treatise *On virtues* and the opening paragraphs of his reply to George Scholarios on Aristotle's philosophy; letters by Bessarion (to the sons of Plethon, to Michael Apostoles, to Andronikos Kallistos) and by Nicholas Sagundino (also to Andronikos Kallistos); and theological notes by Mark Eugenikos. In immediate vicinity to Text 29 we find two other texts explicitly derogatory of women. The preceding Chrysostom sermon (Text 28) is biased in an interesting way: whereas in the primary version (*CPG* 4570) the enumeration of wicked women is followed by their good and virtuous counterparts, our scribe, or his model manuscript, excluded the end part of the sermon, thus emphasizing female vileness only. Text 27, Libanios' *Declamation* 26 "On the morose and his wife," is a text less venomous but still directed at giving a disagreeable picture of women. After Text 29 follows an assortment of short texts with moral or theological content (Mark Eugenikos on the end of life and on eternal punishment, John of Damascus on the eight capital sins, letters by Isidore of Pelousion, and a few anonymous texts).

Text 29 will be explored here with focus on the contents and ideas presented in the text. How do these fit in with earlier and contemporary views on the subject? Is there a Byzantine tradition behind the ideas, or do we need to look elsewhere to find the cultural trail eventually leading to the text we now read in *Gr 8*? What does the manuscript context tell us; do the surrounding texts give any clues on how to read Text 29? From the limited scope of the text we may assume that the manuscript only transmits an excerpt or notes based on an originally longer text. The language of the text is problematic in some places, whether because of textual corruption or because it is some kind of shorthand notes, not even meant to be complete is difficult to know. Nevertheless, even though there are minor points in the edition which are solved only tentatively, I do not find this an impediment for the overall comprehension of the text. So as not to interfere too much with the original, I have made only slight adjustments to the text, accounted for in the apparatus, and will instead discuss the difficulties in connection with the translation.

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<sup>4</sup> Text 29 is mentioned in *CPG* as "Sermo anepigraphus" (No. 4878), and is also included in Robert Carter's enumeration of Chrysostom codices (CARTER 1970, No. 33). It has not entered José Antonio de Aldama's inventory of pseudo-Chrysostomian works.

Text 29 (ff. 189<sup>v</sup>–190<sup>v</sup>)

- 1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ·  
 Διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν τῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως συγγινομένων τὰ τικτόμενα καὶ  
 χρόνῳ λοιμώδη παραπίπτουσι, καὶ νόσοι ἐπισκίπτουσιν ἀνεξάλειπτοι καὶ  
 πολέμιοι. λέγω δὴ νόσος λοιμώδης καὶ ἄληκτος ἐλεφαντεία, (190r) κελεφία,  
 5 γάγγραινα καὶ φαγέδαινα. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐν καιρῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπέρχονται τοῖς  
 συλλαμβανομένοις τῶν γυναικείων. ἐπτὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἢ ἄφεδρος αἱμορροεῖ  
 κατὰ μῆνα. ἐκάστη οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ὁ συγγινόμενος τοιαῦτα· ὥρα ἥ δ' ἂν  
 συλλάβοι ἐκ τῶν ἐπτὰ τῆς ἀφέδρου τὸ γινόμενον παιδεύεται καὶ κατὰ τὸν  
 χρόνον τῆς συλλήψεως. ὥρα γὰρ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ὥριται καὶ ἡμέρα εἰς  
 10 δωδεκάτειαν τοῦ σπειρομένου ἐκ τῆς ἀφέδρου. ἐὰν μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν  
 γυναικείων συλλάβοι τὸν σπóρον, ἐν ἀρχῇ καὶ τὸν τεχθέντα ἐπισκίπτει ἢ  
 νόσος, εἰ δὲ δεκάτῃ ὥρᾳ, μετὰ δεκατέτιαν ἢ νόσος ἐπέρχεται, εἰ δὲ δευτέρᾳ  
 ἡμέρᾳ ἢ τρίτῃ, κατὰ τὸν ψήφον τῶν ἡμερῶν <καὶ> τῶν ὥρων τὰ ἔτη  
 15 συλλάβοι, τῷ τικτομένῳ, εἰ ζῇ, ἐν τῷ τέλει τῆς ζωῆς μετὰ ὀγδοήκοντα  
 τέσσαρα ἔτη ἢ λοιμώδης νόσος αὐτῷ κυριεύει. ἀκρασία γὰρ συγγινόμενοι  
 (190v) σώματι καὶ πεφυρμένον τὸν σπóρον ἐν αἵματι μολύναντες  
 καταβάλλουσιν. ἔνθα καὶ πληροῦται τό· ἁμαρτίαι γονέων τρέχουσιν ἐπὶ  
 τέκνα. τί δέ; καὶ Μωυσῆς ταῦτα ἐν μυστηρίῳ οὐκ ἔφασεν; ἡμεῖς οὐκ  
 20 ὀφείλομεν τὸ καλὸν συνορᾶν καὶ ἐν σώματι καθαρῷ καθαρὸν σπεῖραι τὸν  
 σπóρον, καὶ μὴ τῇ λοίμῃ ἐκδοῦναι καὶ ὥς χοῖροι γίνεσθαι τῷ βορβόρῳ;  
 Οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τυφλὸς συνείληπται τῇ ἀκαθαρσίᾳ; ἀγάπη δὲ μάλλον καὶ πρὸ  
 καιροῦ ἐκυήθη, διὸ σπουδῇ πρὸ τοῦ τέλους προεκδραμὼν ἐλλιπὴς ἐγεννήθη.  
 πρὸς γὰρ τὴν ἔκβασιν τοῦ τέλους τὰ ὅμματα ἐγχαράττεται· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα  
 25 μέλη πλαστουργεῖται πρὸ ὁμμάτων τῷ σώματι συσφιγγόμενα. αἱ δὲ κόραι ὥς  
 δρόσος μαραινόμεναι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἔσχατον πάντων ἐντίθενται διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 συμφθαρῆναι αὐτὰς ἢ βλαβῆναι ἀπὸ τῆς ἄκρου θερμότητος· ἔνεκεν τοῦτου  
 οὐχ ἥμαρτον οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ.

1 τοῦ αὐτοῦ scil. τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου 4 ἀλήληκτος U 9 ἡμέρας U 12 εἰ δὲ δεκάτῃ] ἢ δὲ  
 δεκάτῃ U εἰ δὲ δευτέρᾳ] ἢ δὲ δευτέρα U 14 ἐὰν] ἐν U λοχεινομέν/ U 18 ἁμαρτία U 25  
 πρὸ] πρὸς U 28 γονοῖς U

## Translation

By the same author [John Chrysostom]:

Due to the lack of self control of those who recklessly have intercourse, plague will eventually befall the children and indelible and inimical diseases will come upon them. I mean a pestilential and unceasing illness, such as elephantiasis,<sup>5</sup> leprosy, gangrene, and cancer. All this will in due time invade those who are conceived from<sup>6</sup> the menses of women. Seven days a month the discharge of blood flows. Thus, the person who has intercourse on any of these days<sup>7</sup> [will experience] the following things: in the moment during the seven days of discharge in which she conceives, the offspring will be punished in accordance also with the time of conception. For an hour is defined as a year and a day as a twelve-year period for the seed sprung from the menstrual discharge. If she receives the seed at the beginning of the menses, the disease will fall upon the new-born child early in life; if in the tenth hour, the disease will invade it after ten years; if on the second or third day, the years will extend further for the child according to the calculation of days and hours. And if she conceives on the seventh day of the menses, the pestilential disease will seize the offspring—if it is still alive—at the end of life, after eighty-four years. Because they are having intercourse without self control, they defile a body with their seed, sullying it in blood. Then is fulfilled the saying, “the sins of the fathers befall the children.”<sup>8</sup> Nothing new in that: even Moses said this in a secret message,<sup>9</sup> did he not? Should we not observe what is good and sow our seed pure in a pure body, and not surrender it to pestilence, becoming like swine in the mire?

Was thus also the blind man conceived in impurity? Through charity, rather, he was brought forth prematurely, as he hurried forth before completion and was born deficient. The eyes are engraved towards the end of the completed pregnancy; the other limbs are formed prior to the eyes, being tightly compressed with the body. But since the pupils dry up like dew by

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<sup>5</sup> Elephantiasis is usually taken as the Greek term for the disease nowadays named “leprosy.” In Arabic there was also a disease with the corresponding name (*dā’ al-ḥīl*), but it signified quite another illness—modern *lymphatic filariasis*. Here it is, by all accounts, the former disease which is aimed at, i.e. leprosy. Nevertheless, I have decided to keep the original word, especially since the next disease mentioned in the text (κελεφία) means leprosy as well. On these diseases, see further below.

<sup>6</sup> The verb συλλαμβάνω, is here understood as “conceive,” with menstrual fluid being the matter out of which the fetus is created. Another option would be to read the phrase as “those who come into contact with the menses.”

<sup>7</sup> Literally “on each of these days.” The Greek clause lacks an active verb, here added in brackets in the translation.

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e.g., *Ex.* 20:5 and *Deut.* 5:9.

<sup>9</sup> The term μυστήριον is rare in the Septuagint and in no instance is it associated with Moses (it is found only in *Daniel*, *Judith* and *Tobit*). On its use in patristic writings, see HAMILTON 1977.

heat, they are put in last of all, so as not to perish altogether or become damaged by the extreme heat. Therefore his parents did not sin.<sup>10</sup>

— — —

The message of Text 29 is that intercourse with a woman during her menstruation may result in severe diseases, generated in the fetus but manifested later in life depending on when in the woman's period the conception took place. This is supposed to be concordant with the Old Testament notion of "inherited sin," of God punishing the next generation for the parents' transgressions. The moral instruction, which is at the heart of the text, is combined with medical explanations, the key concept being ἀκρασία, which according to Liddell and Scott's lexicon means either (A) *bad mixture*, or (B) *incontinence, lack of self control*. "Bad mixture" captures the meaning of shared bodily fluids, and is a term used in Hippocratic medicine. But the wording "διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν" is also reminiscent of *1 Cor.* 7:5, ἵνα μὴ πειράζῃ ὑμᾶς ὁ Σατανᾶς διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ὑμῶν (so that Satan will not tempt you because of your lack of self control), a passage which deals with proper sexual conduct and whether one should marry or abstain from sexual intercourse altogether. This Pauline passage was commented on in numerous patristic writings, and ought therefore to have rung a bell for many people, whether through their own readings and education or just by their going to church and being immersed in Christian vocabulary from their early years. The last paragraph of Text 29 opens up an alternative etiology for disablement. *John* 9:1–12 relates how Jesus caught sight of a man who had been blind from birth and the disciples asked him who was to blame for the impairment: τίς ἥμαρτεν, οὗτος ἢ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ, ἵνα τυφλὸς γεννηθῇ. His answer was that neither he nor his parents had sinned; rather, it happened "so that the work of God might be displayed in his life." In Text 29 this is expanded on in an unusual way. The text refers to "charity" or "love"—ἀγάπη—and premature birth as reasons for his blindness and gives an embryological sketch on why this affected his eyes. Whose love or charity is at issue here, God's or the parents'? Text 29 gives no hint on how to comprehend this.

The combination of religious and medical discourse in Text 29 motivates an approach from different angles. We will thus examine both the Jewish/Christian views on purity and the ancient medical lore which has left an imprint in our treatise. I maintain that it was precisely the combination of these two systems of thought which facilitated a long-lasting belief in the detrimental effects of menstrual sex.

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. *John* 9:1–3.

## Menstrual impurity

The taboo around menstruation is often said to be world-wide.<sup>11</sup> It was present also in ancient Greece to some extent, though most writers exhibit a moderate outlook, some even considering menstruation in a woman healthy and positive—we will come back to this below, in the discussion on medical views.<sup>12</sup> The text which has had the greatest impact on Byzantine and western medieval attitudes to menstruation is *Leviticus*, where the religiously based taboo is an exhortation to the Israeli people to stay ritually pure when performing cultic ceremonies. The purity laws in *Leviticus* marked out the restrictions for a person who was approaching the holy sphere and covered many different areas: food, clothing, animals, sexual relations, life and death. *Leviticus* chapter 15 is about bodily discharges which cause uncleanness. It is noteworthy that the first eighteen verses actually treat *male* bodily discharge, whereas the next twelve verses are about the female equivalent. The regulations and the appropriate sacrifice for cleansing are very much the same for both sexes, and yet, throughout the centuries the curse has been on Eve to an extent that Adam never had to undergo: it was evidently convenient to use biblical support to continually circumscribe the freedom of women. The prohibition against menstrual intercourse is not only about ceremonial cleanness, whether women have access to the tabernacle/temple or not, but seems to be more of a general ban. It is mentioned in *Leviticus* 18:19 and 20:18, as well as in *Ezekiel* 18:6. Jewish purity laws as we meet them in the Torah do not stand alone: there is a history behind them too. Codified in post-exilic times they are reminiscent of Mesopotamian practice, and the Zoroastrian taboo on the menstruant was as severe, menstrual sex being considered a capital offense.<sup>13</sup> The same overall picture is present in Hindu law as well, and, given the cultural interchange between the peoples of the Mediterranean and the Middle East regions, it would be unexpected if

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<sup>11</sup> “Menstrual taboos may not be universal, but they are sufficiently widespread to justify the inference that they are an extremely ancient component of the human cultural configuration” (KNIGHT 1991, 375).

<sup>12</sup> Hesiod states that a man must not wash himself in water previously used by a woman (*OD* 753–755), but he is not explicit as to whether uncleanness (and possibly banefulness) applies to women as such or, specifically, to women as menstruating creatures. Later writers, though, had no qualms about how this was to be interpreted: *Averr. 3. Collec. cap. 7. dicebat, coitum cum menstruata lepram inducere, atque hoc se experientia cognovisse, ut non solum à legislatoribus prohibitus sit huiusmodi concubitus, sed etiam ab Hesiodo vetitus, ne in balneis ver-setur quis, ubi lavatae sunt mulieres menstruatae* (Hieronymus Mercurialis, *De morbis mulieribus*, IV. I, in SPACIUS 1597, 257). On ancient Greek views, see also KING 2002.

<sup>13</sup> See PHIPPS 1980, 299. In ancient and medieval times, if a Zoroastrian man knowingly had sex with a menstruant he was to be punished with up to ninety lashes (according to *Vidēvdāt* 16: 13–16), although, as Jamsheed Choksy states, this severe penalty could also be transformed into a fine (CHOKSY 1989, 92). Choksy emphasizes the menstruant’s ritual impurity as sufficient reason for the Zoroastrian prohibition of menstrual intercourse and does not mention any Zoroastrian belief reminiscent of our text’s subject matter, i.e. the possibility of damage to a fetus created during the menses.

the attitudes to women and the restrictions around them had not been affected by adjacent beliefs during the centuries.<sup>14</sup>

For Christian theologians the purity laws from the Old Testament have been difficult to handle. How are they to be harmonized with New Testament teachings, what elements should be kept unchanged, and what could be cast aside? The dietary laws of Acts 15:29, for example, were observed in the Greek and oriental Church up to and including the fifth century, but have since then had little impact in Christian teachings.<sup>15</sup> The precepts on correct sexual conduct have persisted more or less unchanged up until today.<sup>16</sup> As for chapters 13–14 in *Leviticus*, which deal with skin diseases and mildew, only one part lingered on: the ban on leprosy. In Josephus' description of the temple area in Jerusalem, we meet with an early juxtaposition—but not causal connection—of leprosy and menstruation.<sup>17</sup> Except for one or two voices, the patristic tradition has unanimously commended the exclusion of menstruants from mass and declared menstrual sex abominable.

A text which is often put forward as radical in its stance on menstruation is the Syriac work *Didascalia* (mid-third century).<sup>18</sup> In chapter 26 of this text, the author does away with Jewish purity laws and claims that they are no longer necessary for Christians. The context is clear, and the Syriac wording “And when (your wives have) those issues which are according to nature, take care, as is right, that you cleave to them,” follows logically upon what is said in the rest of the chapter.<sup>19</sup> The early Latin version, on the other hand, “*cum naturalia profluunt uxoribus vestris, nolite convenire illis*,” i.e.

<sup>14</sup> According to Hindu regulations of sacred and civil conduct (*dharma*), codified in *The Laws of Manu* around 200 BCE – 100 CE, the husband may approach his wife in “due season,” avoiding “six forbidden nights and eight others” each month (III, 45–50). The Brahmana must “not approach his wife when her courses appear, nor let him sleep with her in the same bed. For the wisdom, the energy, the strength, the sight, and the vitality of a man who approaches a woman covered with menstrual excretions, utterly perish. If he avoids her, while she is in that condition, his wisdom, energy, strength, sight, and vitality will increase” (IV, 40–42). The Zoroastrian purificatory use of bull's urine in connection with menstruation may be compared to *The Laws of Manu* V, 120–121. Cf. also XI, 174 and 213, where the urine of cows is mentioned as a remedy of purification for the man who has had intercourse with a menstruating woman.

<sup>15</sup> See TOMSON 1999, 75. Even though both Origen and Chrysostom stress the importance of purifying your heart, the discussion in itself bears witness to subsisting observation of purity commandments among Christians. Peter Tomson also refers to explicitly Christian purity rules as they stand in, e.g., the *Apostolic Constitutions* 8.32: Πᾶς πιστὸς ἢ πιστὴ ἔωθεν ἀναστάντες ἐξ ὕπνου πρὸ τοῦ ἔργον ἐπιτελέσαι νημέριοι προσευχέσθωσαν (every believing man or woman must, when they wake up at dawn, wash their hands and pray before they accomplish any work).

<sup>16</sup> This applies to Islamic tradition as well; cf. *Qur'an* 2:222, 223.

<sup>17</sup> Josephus, *BJ* 5, 227: γονορροίοις μὲν δὴ καὶ λεπροῖς ἡ πόλις ὅλη, τὸ δ' ἱερὸν γυναικῶν ἐμμήνοις ἀπεκλείστο (those who had gonorrhea and leprosy were excluded from the city entirely, and women, during their menstruation, were shut out of the temple).

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, FONROBERT 2000, 166–188; COHEN 1991.

<sup>19</sup> VÖÖBUS 1979, Syriac version p. 262; English translation p. 244. I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Mats Eskhult for helping me with the Syriac text.

“do *not* cleave to them,” does not fit with the rest of the arguments in chapter 26. Thus, on hermeneutical, intratextual grounds, the Latin negation ought to give rise to suspicion. Nonetheless, the editor Arthur Vööbus states that something must be wrong with the text in Syriac: “a deliberate change cannot come into account here,” he argues.<sup>20</sup> On the contrary, it would be all but unlikely if on some occasion a negation crept into the Latin text, considering the fervent anti-menstrual tradition in Latin texts, from Pliny, over the early Church Fathers, and onward.

The *Leviticus* decrees were originally promulgated as cultic observances, related to the temple and the priesthood of Judaism. In the course of time, however, they became reinterpreted as part of a social and moral code, something which has often been associated with the rise of Christendom. But the moralizing approach is found also in rabbinic writings, and mirrors the changes in Israel’s socio-historical situation at the time of the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.<sup>21</sup> Thus, leprosy became connected with pride and arrogance.<sup>22</sup> For the sake of their impiety, Diodorus Siculus says, the Israelites were expelled from Egypt, cursed as they were and afflicted with scurvy and leprosy.<sup>23</sup> In the same way, moral corruption is what the early church fathers imply when they declare leprosy to be an “emblem of sin.”<sup>24</sup> However, before we delve into the patristic tradition and its continuation in Byzantine and Western medieval texts, we need to consider the medical side of the problem.

## The medical view of menstruation

The attempt at a medical explanation of diseases by the notion of “bad mixture” (ἄκρασία) is in line with the ancient tradition of humoral pathology, which maintains that an intemperance in the body fluids is potentially harm-

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<sup>20</sup> VÖÖBUS 1979, 244, n. 229.

<sup>21</sup> BEENTJES 2000, 72. Jonathan Klawans argues that the moral aspect is present already in *Leviticus*, and that there is a clear difference in the judgement of menstruation in itself—not referred to as an “abomination” and easily cleansed—and in impurity contracted by the performance of sin, e.g. menstrual sex, which leads to dire and permanent consequences (KLAWANS 2000, vi).

<sup>22</sup> See Pancratius Beentjes’ discussion of 2 Chr 26:20 (BEENTJES 2000, 71). Cf. Josephus, *AJ* IX, 222–227.

<sup>23</sup> D.S., *Bibliotheca historica* (ed. Walton), Fragmenta librorum 34/35. 2: τοὺς γὰρ ἀλφουὺς ἡ λέπρας ἔχοντας ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καθαρμοῦ χάριν ὥς ἐναγεῖς συναθροισθέντας ὑπερορίους ἐκβεβλήσθαι.

<sup>24</sup> Ps.-Justin Martyr, Fragment 2 (ed. Otto): ὥστε οὐ προκειμένως [prob. error for προκειμένη] περὶ λέπρας ἢ υπόθεσις ἦν τοῦ καθαρισμοῦ, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν, ἵνα νοηθῇ καὶ ἡ λέπρα παραβολὴ τῆς ἁμαρτίας καὶ τὰ θυόμενα παραβολὴ τοῦ μέλλοντος θύεσθαι ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν (therefore the material for purification was not prescribed for leprosy, but for acquittance of sins, in order that leprosy might be apprehended as an emblem of sin and the things sacrificed an emblem of Him who was to be sacrificed for sins).

ful and will result in illness if balance is not restored.<sup>25</sup> Menstruation as such was not necessarily seen as negative. In the Hippocratic tradition menstruation was a sign of health in a woman, a stance maintained also by subsequent medical writers, like Galen and Paul of Aegina.<sup>26</sup> Its purpose was to purge women from superfluous humors: while men could remove the impurities from their blood by sweating, women, whom they imagined being colder and less active, could only do so by menstruating. A variant of this was to view menstruation as the shedding of a plethora: women concocted more blood from their digestion of food than they could use up. This excess might be used to nourish a fetus, or might be converted into milk for the baby. When not pregnant or breast-feeding, the plethora in women's bodies had to be expelled, as menstruations.

The embryological teachings of Aristotle, Galen, and others, maintain that the embryo is created from a mixture of semen and menstrual blood.<sup>27</sup> According to Galen, who owes much of his theoretical background to Hippocratic medicine, both man and woman contribute seed.<sup>28</sup> Aristotle, on the other hand, claims that the male semen only supplies the energizing principle or "form" to the embryo while the menstrual blood is the sole matter from which it is created (*GA*, 766b). As male seminal fluid was thought to be foam, made out of water and the active principle, *pneuma*, and the female counterpart was the menstrual blood, the mixing of body fluids would be inevitable in procreation. The fluids of the body are, according to Aristotle's theory, generative of each other—food becomes blood, and blood may in turn become menstrual fluid, milk, or semen, as well as marrow or fat.<sup>29</sup> Hence it is difficult to understand why menstrual blood came to be singled out as particularly despicable. There is one passage in *The generation of animals* which seems to link Aristotle with the subsequent tradition to stigmatize the menstruant, especially in connection with abnormal births:

Democritus said that monstrosities arose because two emissions of seminal fluid met together, the one succeeding the other at an interval of time. [...] If,

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<sup>25</sup> This theory of the four humors (blood, phlegm, black and yellow bile) and their concomitant characteristics (connected with the elements, the seasons, and the scales of hot-cold and dry-moist) was put forward by Hippocratic doctors, and, mainly through Galen's writings, it became the dominating system of thought in medicine up until the 19<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>26</sup> A more negative view on menstruation was put forward by Soranus, who argued that it is harmful to all women (Sor. *Gyn.* 1. 29).

<sup>27</sup> This outlook is present also in Jewish wisdom literature; cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* VII, 2: δεκαμηνιαίῳ χρόνῳ παγείς ἐν αἵματι ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἡδονῆς ὕπνῳ συνελθούσης. But since this apocryphal text was created in Alexandria at a time when the city was the great center of medical learning (1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BCE), it is not impossible that Greek embryological thinking influenced the author.

<sup>28</sup> The male seed provides the material for nerves and vascular walls, whereas the female contributes by creating the blood of the fetus. Galen vacillates on the nature of female seed, whether it is the menstrual fluid or the fluid found in the vagina during excitation (*De semine* II. 2).

<sup>29</sup> PREUS 1977, 78.



then, we must attribute the cause to the semen of the male, this will be the way we shall have to state it, *but we must rather by all means suppose that the cause lies in the material and in the embryo as it is forming.*<sup>30</sup> (my italics)

The raw material (ύλη) Aristotle saw as potentially causing monstrosities was the material contributed by the female, i.e. the menstruum.

Except for the citation above, Aristotle's embryological explanations do not particularly stigmatize the menstruant: they are rather degrading women in general, as passive creatures, colder, and in every way less perfect than men.<sup>31</sup> Yet, Aristotle obviously influenced the negative view of menstruants which persisted all through the Middle Ages (and far beyond). The coupling of the menses to the moon may also have contributed, since this implied that women were under the spell of an ominous celestial body often associated with magic.<sup>32</sup> In Aristotle's treatise *On Dreams* (459b–460a), we read that the menstruant's gaze is so potent, it can stain a mirror: "If a woman chances during her menstrual period to look into a highly polished mirror, the surface of it will grow cloudy with a blood-colored haze." From here there is only a short step to Pliny's indulgence in the devastating and fatal consequences of menstrual contamination. These are described in detail in two chapters of the *Historia Naturalis*, VII, 15 and XXVIII, 23. Here we limit the discussion to the aspect of menstrual sex. In VII, 15 Pliny relates what Aristotle says about embryo formation, that the male seed, acting as a kind of rennet, causes the menstrual blood to unite and assume bodily shape. But "if the (menstrual) flow continues during pregnancy, the offspring is born weak or not even alive, or else full of bloody matter" (*ergo cum gravidis fluxit, invalidi aut*

<sup>30</sup> Arist. *GA*, 769b–770a: Δημόκριτος μὲν οὖν ἔφησε γίνεσθαι τὰ τέρατα διὰ τὸ δύο γονὰς πίπτειν, τὴν μὲν πρότερον ὀρμήσαναν <καὶ μὴ ἐξελοῦσαν> τὴν δ' ὕστερον καὶ ταύτην [ἐξελοῦσαν] ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν ὕστεραν, ὥστε συμφύεσθαι καὶ ἐπαλλάττειν τὰ μόρια [...]. εἰ μὲν οὖν αἰτιάσασθαι δεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος γονήν, τοῦτον ἂν τὸν τρόπον εἴη λεκτέον· ὅλως δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν αἰτίαν οἰητέον ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς συνισταμένοις κυήμασιν εἶναι. Direct references to Democritus' theory are rare: an echo of this Aristotelian passage may lie behind Marcantonio Zimara's discussion in his commentary on Aristotle's *Problemata*: *Warumb empfangen die gemeine weiber nicht / als nemlich die huren? Antwort. Es geschicht von wegen der mancherley Samen / dadurch derselbigen Geburth zeug verderbet wirdt / unnd werden schlupffereicht gemacht / also dass kein natürlicher same / bey ihnen behalten wirdt / oder kompt auch darumm / dieweil ein same den andern verderbet / daß keiner zu der geburt tauge. Daher gesagt wirdt Versus: Impedit et semen aliud simul, et mediante Quo impetito sequitur destructio prolis. Ein same den andern vertreiben thut / Dadurch verdirbt die fruchte gut* (ZIMARA 1571, f. LVIII). I had access only to the German translation; the Latin original was written in Padua before 1514. On Marcantonio Zimara (1475–1532), famous for his commentaries to Aristotle and Averroes, see LOHR 1982, 245–254.

<sup>31</sup> He even calls her a monstrosity in kind, before proceeding to further malformed creatures (*GA*, 767b: καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὴ εὐκῶς τοῖς γονεῦσιν ἥδη τρόπον τινὰ τέρας ἐστίν· παρεκβέβηκε γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἐν τοῦτοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους τρόπον τινά. ἀρχὴ δὲ πρώτη τὸ θῆλυ γίνεσθαι καὶ μὴ ἄρρεν).

<sup>32</sup> Arist. *HA*, 582a–b: Ἡ δὲ τῶν γυναικείων ὀρμὴ γίνεται περὶ φθίνοντας τοὺς μῆνας· διὸ φασὶ τινες τῶν σοφιστομένων καὶ τὴν σελήνην εἶναι θῆλυ, ὅτι ἅμα συμβαίνει ταῖς μὲν ἡ καθαρίσιν τῇ δ' ἡ φθίσις, καὶ μετὰ τὴν καθαρίσιν καὶ τὴν φθίσιν ἡ πλήρωσις ἀμφοῖν. Cf. also DEAN-JONES 1989, 187–190. On astrology and medicine, see BARTON 1994, 185–191.

*non vitales partus eduntur aut saniosi*, 15:66). This passage may easily account for a complicated pregnancy perhaps ending in miscarriage; Pliny's wording does not indicate menstrual sex but has to do with abnormal bleeding during pregnancy. Yet, the interpretations of later commentators and readers went in another direction, and in this they could in fact rely on Pliny's authority as well:

From the menses themselves, monstrous in other respects—as I have stated elsewhere—ominous and shocking things are foreboded. Out of these I have no qualms to tell you the following: if this [menstrual] power coincides with an eclipse of the moon or the sun, irredeemable consequences follow, and no less so if the moon is silent. Coitus at that time would be fatal and pestilential for the male...<sup>33</sup>

The adjective *monstrificus* need only mean magical or monstrous in a figurative sense, and since Pliny refers us to his own text in VII, 15, this seems to be the nuance asked for. Nonetheless, as subsequent texts show, it has been taken literally, as “monster-making, creating monstrosities” (*monstrum facere*). Still in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find references to Pliny's text, as is evident in, e.g., Ambroise Paré's chapter on monstrosities as examples of God's wrath: “Quand une femme enceinte a ses moys, l'enfant sera bien debil, ou ne viendra à terme.”<sup>34</sup>

Once Aristotle had laid the fundament, later interpreters used scholastic reasoning to set up rules for sexual intercourse. If woman, as the Philosopher had claimed, is weak and deficient, and her material, the menstruum, is formless and in need of male perfection, then it follows that menstrual fluid not used up in creating a fetus would become superfluous and degenerated. Therefore one should engage in intercourse while the material is still fresh and sensitive to form, i.e. in the week following the end of a period. If one waited until later, the menses would have had time to deteriorate: this would increase the likelihood “first of female offspring (i.e., only slightly deformed); then of badly defective ones; and then of none at all.”<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Plin. *HN*, XXVIII, 23: *ex ipsis vero mensibus, monstrificis alias, ut suo loco indicavimus, dira et infanda vaticinantur, e quibus dixisse non pudeat, si in defectus lunae solisque congruat vis illa, inremediabilem fieri, non segnius et in silente luna, coitusque tum maribus exitiales esse atque pestiferos...*

<sup>34</sup> PARÉ 1971, 152, n. 15. The same outlook is found in *Summula Raymundi*, a work based on the writings of 13<sup>th</sup> c. Dominican friar and canonist Raymond of Peñafort, the codifier of Pope Gregory IX's canon law (CRAWFORD 1981, 61). The text saw wide transmission both in manuscript and recurrent prints (cf. KAPP 1886, 336ff.). On the matter of menstrual intercourse, Raymond warns that the woman will bring forth leprous or red-haired children, *pueros leprosos vel cum rufis crinibus* (BROWE 1932, 14, n. 82).

<sup>35</sup> WOOD 1981, 716.

## The penalty paid

What were the imagined consequences of menstrual sex according to ancient medicine? In what way was the fetus (and sometimes also the parent/s) affected? Above, we have met with some variants already (debility or premature birth, according to Paré; pestilence or death for the male involved, according to Pliny; malformation, according to Aristotle). In Text 29 an array of illnesses are mentioned, leprosy being the main candidate. One could reasonably conclude that *Leviticus*' juxtaposition of bans had brought about this connection of two proscribed categories: the leprous person who had to stay outside the camp until clean, and the persons who were to be "cut off from among their people" having had menstrual intercourse. But in fact, there were medical grounds for the leprosy part too. According to humoral theory, an accumulation of black bile in the body would thicken and corrupt the blood, and hinder the natural expulsion of it through the pores or with the blood. Balance could be restored through purging or bleeding, wherefore menstruation became vital in the discussion and treatment of melancholic disorders. Thus, one of the earliest connections between breast cancer and (cessation of) menstruation is hypothesized by Hippocrates (*Mul.* II, 133). "Cancer" was understood not just as breast cancer but as swellings anywhere in the body, tumors, festering ulcers, gangrene, et cetera.<sup>36</sup> The etiology of leprosy became the same, although this disease is a complex and not always easily defined disorder. Returning to Aristotle once again, there is a passage in *The Generation of Animals* which points in this direction. The embryo could become misshapen owing to "the bulk and coldness of that which is being concocted and articulated." Aristotle compares this to what happens to athletes through eating an excessive amount:

in their case, owing to the great bulk of nourishment there is, Nature cannot gain the mastery over it so as to bring about well-proportioned growth [...] Similar to this is the disease which is known as satyriasis; in this too, a large bulk of unconcocted flux or pneuma finds its way into parts of the face of the animal, and in consequence the face actually appears like that of a satyr.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> DEMAITRE 1998, 609.

<sup>37</sup> Arist. *GA*, 768b, 25–36, translated by Arthur Peck, who comments that the last sentence "is probably a marginal note which has crept into the text; in any case it is corrupt, and 'unconcocted pneuma' is meaningless" (PECK 1965, 413). Nonetheless, it is fully compatible with the rest of the paragraph: Bekker's suggestion, to bracket ἡ πνεύματος as the problematic part of the phrase διὰ ρεύματος ἡ πνεύματος ἀπέπτου πλήθος, is a feasible solution. On the other hand, corresponding expressions about unconcocted pneuma do appear in Galen and others. See, for example, Gal. *De locis affectis*, 8, 280 (in connection to a passage dealing with inflamed tumours, erysipelas, ulcers, and abscesses): ἐμάθετε δ' ὅτι καὶ δυσκρασίαις ἀνωμάλοις ἀλγήματα πολλάκις ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ πνεύματος ἀπέπτου τε καὶ φυσώδους πλήθει. On Galen's pneumatology, see TEMKIN 1977, 154–161. Cf. also the statement attributed to Resh Lakish in *Leviticus Rabbah* 15:2 (5<sup>th</sup> c. CE), maintaining that "much blood produces much *šēḥin* (boils); much sperm produces much *šārḥat* (leprosy)" (cited from ZIAS 1989, 28). Simeon ben Lakish (Resh Lakish) lived in Syria Palæstina in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE.

The analogy with the athletes' regimen is apt, since menstrual blood was both created from women's intake of food (compare the plethora theory, above) and also became nourishment (for the fetus and for the suckling child). This brings us to Galen's description of elephantiasis:

Elephantiasis is also a melancholic condition, the onset of which comes from biliary blood. Eventually the black bile exceeds the blood, and then the patients become malodorous and repulsive to look at; some of them also develop ulcers. In its initial stage this condition is called satyriasis, since in their faces they become like satyres. But some use this term on account of the bone-like protrusions at the temples.<sup>38</sup>

Does the Greek term ἐλεφαντίασις (ἐλέφας) positively equate what we today call leprosy? Modern leprosy, also known as *Hansen's disease*, is caused by the *Mycobacterium leprae*: its extremes range from a disfiguring skin infection to a mutilating and sometimes fatal disease, permanently damaging the skin, nerves, limbs and eyes.<sup>39</sup> Leprosy is only mildly infectious and the bacteria multiply very slowly: the incubation period is about five years and it can take up to twenty years before symptoms appear. This delay in outbreak is worth noticing in relation to the numerological speculations in Text 29. These ideas, which I have not come upon in any other Byzantine or Western medieval texts, have a parallel in rabbinic teachings. On the question why some progeny contracted the disease at an early age and others decades later, the rabbinic answer was that if sexual relations occurred on the first day of the mother's menses, the child would develop leprosy at age ten; on the second day, age twenty, et cetera, up until age seventy if on the seventh day.<sup>40</sup> The arithmetics are not identical to the ones presented in Text 29, but there is good cause to suppose that these ideas did not develop independently.<sup>41</sup>

Even though the ancient physicians knew nothing about bacteria and created their own nosological explanation for the disease, it seems that the descriptions of symptoms do match the modern disease. But to complicate matters further, there are actually more than one term for leprosy in Greek.

<sup>38</sup> Gal. *De tumoribus praeter naturam*, 7, 728: Μελαγχολικὸν δὲ πάθος καὶ ὁ ἐλέφας ἐστί, τὴν μὲν πρώτην γένεσιν ἐξ αἵματος ἴσχων μελαγχολικοῦ, τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ πλείων ἢ μέλαινα γίνεται τοῦ αἵματος ἡνίκα δυσώδεις εἰσὶ καὶ ἀπεχθεῖς ἰδεῖν, ἐνίοις δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλκη συμπίπτει. τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ἀρχόμενον ὀνομάζουσι σατυριασμόν ἐπειδὴ τοῖς σατύροις ὅμοιοι γίνονται τὸ πρόσωπον. ἐνίοι δὲ τὰς κατὰ τοὺς κροτάφους ἐξοχὰς ὀστώδεις οὕτω καλοῦσι.

<sup>39</sup> With the discovery of antibiotics some sixty years ago, leprosy became curable and in the last twenty years the decrease in leprosy cases has been dramatic thanks to this treatment, from 5.2 million patients in 1985 to around 225,000 registered cases at the beginning of 2007. Pockets of high endemicity remain in a small number of African countries as well as in Brazil, India, and Nepal (<http://www.who.int/lep/en/>).

<sup>40</sup> Tachuma Metzora 39:22b (ZIAS 1989, 29). This rabbinic text is usually dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> c. CE (STRACK & STEMBERGER 1991, 332).

<sup>41</sup> This kind of correlative thinking according to a day-year principle has been employed mainly in relation to prophetic texts, as, for example, in the case of both Jewish and Christian interpretations of the *Book of Daniel* (*Dan.* 8:14, 8:26, and 9:25).

We see this even in Text 29: ἐλεφαντίασις accounts for the elephantine appearance of the face, deformed by nodulation;<sup>42</sup> κελεφία probably refers to the skin lesions.<sup>43</sup> This leads us to the well-known quandary of biblical “lepra.” The skin disorder(s) deemed unclean in *Leviticus* 13 has/have no clinical likeness whatsoever with today’s chronic leprosy. It comes close to psoriasis, but it probably covers many skin disorders which can fluctuate or heal completely in a week or two.<sup>44</sup> The *Septuagint* translators rendered the Hebrew word *šārāʾat* as λέπρα from λεπρίς – scale, flake, epithelial debris.<sup>45</sup> Thus “lepra” or “scale disease” is the term we actually find in the Bible texts and the Greek patristic authors. When the Arab translators wished to translate the Greek word ἐλεφαντίασις, they encountered another problem: they were already using the term “elephant disease” (*dā’ al-fīl*) for another illness, what is nowadays known as (Arabic) elephantiasis or *lymphatic filariasis* (see above, p. 187). Thus they chose another word, *juḏām*, for Greek elephantiasis. This word was eventually translated into Latin as *lepra*, i.e. the same term which in Greek meant something totally different. If the ancient linguists had not juggled these terms around, the condemnation of lepers throughout the ages might have been less harsh.<sup>46</sup>

In Pseudo-Galen’s *Definitiones medicae*, the illnesses *lepra* and *elephantiasis* are defined separately, as distinct and independent diseases:

Lepra is an abnormal change of the skin making it rugged, itchy and sore; sometimes it implies desquamation, sometimes it spreads over larger parts of the body. [...] Elephantiasis is a condition which makes the skin thick and uneven and the whites of the eyes livid in color. The extreme parts of hands and feet decay and give off a livid and foul-smelling pus.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>42</sup> RICHARDS 1977, 9. This explanation is fully passable, but Ps.-Galen prefers another: the resemblance of the skin and feet to those of the elephant (ἐλεφαντίασιν μὲν οὖν λέγουσι τὴν ἐμπερὶ κατὰ τὸ δέρμα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πόδας ἐλέφαντι παχεῖς γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τοὺς πόδας ἔχουσιν οἱ τῷ πάθει τούτῳ περιτεσσόντες δηλονότι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι. Ps.-Gal. *Introductio seu medicus*, 14, 757).

<sup>43</sup> From κέλυφος, sheath, shell. Cf. the expressions “leprosy of the flesh” and “leprosy of the skin.” Even today one often distinguishes between two principal forms of leprosy, lepromatous and tuberculoid leprosy. The habit of putting down two terms for leprosy, which is observable in the texts on menstrual intercourse, may thus not have been so far off the mark. Another possibility, though, is that this was a result of the terminological vagueness in medical literature, which some authors then tried to compensate for.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the cleansing rules in *Lev.* 13–14. A recent suggestion is that mold/mildew would not be an unreasonable candidate explaining *šārāʾat*, since certain fungi (e.g. *Stachybotros sp.*) can infest houses as well as manifest themselves in humans as a skin condition with symptoms matching those described in *Leviticus* (HELLER, HELLER & SASSON 2003).

<sup>45</sup> RICHARDS 1977, 9.

<sup>46</sup> Even today, the disease leprosy would probably have a lower mortality rate, had not the stigma of uncleanness hindered people from asking for help. The age-old stigma associated with the disease still remains an obstacle to self-reporting and early treatment, according to WHO (WHO 2005).

<sup>47</sup> Ps.-Gal. *Def. med.*, 19, 427f.: σφε’. Λέπρα ἐστὶ μεταβολὴ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν μετὰ τραχύτητος καὶ κνησμῶν καὶ πόνων, ἔσθ’ ὅτε μὲν καὶ λεπίδας ἀποπίπτειν, ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐπινέμεται πλείονα μέρη τοῦ σώματος. [...] σφς’. Ἐλεφάς ἐστι πάθος παχὺ τὸ δέρμα καὶ

If we compare this to the account in *Introductio seu medicus* (cf. n. 42), it seems that elephantiasis is still made the superior concept, which encompasses many different symptoms. In addition, Pseudo-Galen refers to the ancient authorities of medicine and their habit to divide this disease into six subgroups: *elephantiasis*, *leontiasis*, *ophiasis*, *lepra*, *alopecia*, and *lobe*.<sup>48</sup> These may reflect varying manifestations of the disease at different stages in the development, and also the fact that leprosy affects different parts depending on how powerfully the body's immune system resists the infectious attack. Taken separately, however, the six differential diagnoses may also indicate various other diseases.<sup>49</sup>

Whatever we make of the ancient medical descriptions of leprosy and related diseases, the basic theory about black bile, and the purgation of its excess through menstruation, is what matters here. This model, in addition to the inexactness of the ancient notions of cancer, ulcers, boils, sores, apostemes, gangrene, and other disorders which tend to “eat” the skin or the limbs, is sufficient to explain the listing of diseases in Text 29 (ἐλεφαντία, κελεφία, γάγγραινα καὶ φαγέδαινα). The last word, φαγέδαινα, which equates cancer/canker, is actually applicable to all four of them, as “devouring the victim.” The first one, ἐλεφαντία, on the other hand, may also include the rest of the symptoms: leprosy will in time result in boils and nodules, but also sores, ulcers, loss of limbs due to secondary gangrene. The foul-smelling pus, which ancient physicians used to connect with cancers, will be pervasive in the decaying nerve-damaged tissue.

Yet another disease is under consideration in Text 29: blindness. Although innumerable causes may bring about this impairment, there are two links to consider here. One is that blindness is a frequent consequence of leprosy. Due to loss of eye lashes, nerve damage, loss of sensation, paralysis, and inflammatory processes (conjunctivitis, eye keratitis, iridocyclitis), a leper is at great risk of eventually losing his or her eyesight. If we add the awareness of this to the list of diseases explicitly mentioned in Text 29, the last paragraph of the text is not as unexpected as it may seem. There is a link

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ἀνώμαλον παρασκευάζον καὶ πελιδνὸν τὸ χρῶμα καὶ τὰ λευκὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἀναβιβρώσκεται δὲ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν τὰ ἄκρα καὶ ἰχώρα ἀφήσι πελιδνὸν καὶ δυσώδη.

<sup>48</sup> Ps.-Gal. *Introductio*, 14, 757: τινὲς δὲ τῶν παλαιωτέρων εἰς ἕξ διαιροῦσι τὸ πάθος αὐτό, εἰς ἐλεφαντίασιν, λεοντίασιν, ὀφίασιν, λέπραν καὶ ἀλωπεκίαν καὶ λώβην. The symptoms adduced in the six ailments are easily detected in a leper: the first indicates changes in the skin resembling of an elephant's hide as well as deformation of hands and feet (loss of fingers and toes) due to neuritis and paralysis of the muscles; the “lion disease” accounts for the tuberculous nodulation on the forehead and face; ophiasis compares the loss of skin to a serpent's sloughing of the same; scaliness (lepra) was described above; “fox disease” (alopecia) is “a whitening change of the skin, through which the hair ages and falls off from the root” (19, 431); “lobe,” finally, is the mutilation of the extremities, easily injured because the leper has lost sensation and cannot guard himself against burns or other damage.

<sup>49</sup> On the problematic relation between ancient and modern terminology and perception of diseases, see NUTTON 2004, 28f.

missing in the author's train of thought, but, considering the fact that the text seems to be notes taken down, or a sketch, this is not so remarkable.

The other potential connection of blindness to the subject matter in Text 29 is the importance commonly placed on the menstruant's gaze. The eye, so filled with superficial blood vessels, was imagined to have a special relation to menstrual matter, and therefore capable of carrying pollution as well as magical and detrimental powers.<sup>50</sup> Sight was believed to form a bond between performer and recipient, and made it necessary to avoid the dangerous glances of a menstruating woman.<sup>51</sup> A passage from Columella seems to have influenced medieval tradition. In *Res rustica*, he advises the farmer "not to allow a woman to enter a field with cucumbers and gourds, because their vigorous growth will wither through contact with her. And if she is menstruating, she will even with her glance kill newly planted shoots." Although it is perfectly clear that the whole passage deals with greenery—the next sentence tells us to soak the seed in milk before sowing, to get a tender and delightful cucumber—later commentators made this a reason to bar women from looking at newborn children.<sup>52</sup> In Text 29 blindness as punishment for menstrual intercourse is only tacitly inferred, but it was made explicit in similar communications, by Thomas Aquinas among many others.<sup>53</sup> Leprosy was also referred to as punishment for lustful and covetous glances. All in all, menstruation, eye-sight, blindness, and leprosy come together in an intricate web of connections in ancient and medieval thinking. Add to this the biblical tradition that blindness could be God's way of punishing people. The story in *John* 9 does not imply a general denial of sin as a cause of disease: rather the opposite, since the disciples would otherwise not have asked their question. Jesus' healing of the blind man is a particular case. Nevertheless, it is important that Text 29 also gives a "scientific" explanation for blindness, not only pleading "charity" or "love" as the *raison d'être* for his

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<sup>50</sup> This belief is present not only in Greco-Roman tradition, as shown in the texts by Aristotle and Pliny, but is found in Hindu, Zoroastrian, Muslim, and many other cultures as well.

<sup>51</sup> The parallel notion of "the evil eye," still present in many Mediterranean cultures, lies near at hand; see further RAKOCZY 1996, 134–140.

<sup>52</sup> Col. 11. 3. 50–51: *Sed custodiendum est, ut quam minime ad eum locum, in quo vel cucumeres aut cucurbitae consitae sunt, mulier admittatur. Nam fere contactu eius languescunt incrementa virentium. Si vero etiam in menstruis fuerit, visu quoque suo novellos fetus necabit. Cucumis tener et iucundissimus fit, si, ante quam seras, semen eius lacte maceres.* The fear was not restricted to menstruating women: the menstrual poison was believed to multiply in the body at menopause, since there was no outlet for it anymore; see n. 87, below.

<sup>53</sup> On Thomas Aquinas, see further below. His contemporary, Berthold of Ratisbon (d. 1272), gave further suggestions of possible consequences: *Denn das da empfangene Kind wird entweder mit dem Teufel behaftet oder es wird aussätzig [i.e. leprous] oder es bekommt die fallende Sucht oder es wird höckericht oder blind oder krumm oder stumm oder blödsinnig oder es bekommt einen Kopf wie ein Schlegel... Und geschieht ihm dessen nichts..., so fährt es eines unrechten Todes hin* (cited from BROWE 1932, 4). Berthold also explained that so few medieval Jews were leprous because they observed this law concerning intercourse. Jan Hus (d. 1415) did not bring up blindness, instead asserting that, in addition to further impairment, the children would be born squint-eyed or one-eyed(!) (BROWE 1932, 5, n. 25).

situation. The medical argumentation added by the author of Text 29 has its roots in Hippocratic teachings. According to these, the humid embryo is set in motion by fire, and is given its bodily form through a process of solidification and condensation in the womb.<sup>54</sup> Aristotle, who dissected bird fetuses, found it quite problematic to explain the creation of the eyes: they seemed too large for the head at first. His explanation was that they gradually shrink from the surrounding heat and are perfected at the very last stage in the womb (or egg). The eyes seem big because of their amount of moisture. They and the brain take the longest time to form, i.e. to heat up and solidify (*GA*, 743b–744b). This corresponds with the description in Text 29, explaining why a premature birth would impede full development of the faculty of vision.

### A mindset established and transmitted

Put together, the biblical texts and the Greco-Roman medico-philosophical tradition created a mindset around women's bodies, menstruation, and cleanness, which was not easily shaken. It became the starting-point for patristic authors, for rabbinic commentators, for sermon-writing clerics, and also for those physicians and natural philosophers who in later medieval centuries, either through unbroken Byzantine tradition or on the basis of Avicenna's and Averroes' writings, transmitted and revived the Aristotelian heritage. A selection of writings will be presented here, to give an idea of how these beliefs persisted.

A text which has had great impact in its Latin version is the apocryphal book of Ezra, labelled either *4 Ezra* or *2 Esdras*.<sup>55</sup> The Greek version is not extant, but there are citations from it in patristic texts.<sup>56</sup> Among the evils and sorrows which will take place before the coming of the Messiah, the angel Uriel mentions this: "There shall be chaos also in many places, and fire shall often break out, and the wild beasts shall roam beyond their haunts, and

<sup>54</sup> Ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ξηραίνεται καὶ στερεοῦται· στερεούμενον δὲ πυκνοῦται περὶξ (Hp. *De diaeta*, I, 9).

<sup>55</sup> The Old Testament book following the (first) book of Ezra, Nehemiah's book, is in some LXX manuscripts called the second book of Ezra. The so-called third book of Ezra is an apocryphal Greek version of both of these. *4 Ezra* is a pseudepigraphical apocalyptic work from the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. CE. Originally composed in Hebrew, it is preserved only in various translations from a lost Greek version. Citations in Greek patristic texts and an Oxyrhynchus papyrus containing a fragment from ch. 15 (POxy. 1010) confirm the earlier existence of the lost Greek version, as does some of the phrasings in the Latin translation. The Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, and Arab translations (plus fragments of a Coptic and a Georgian version) further confirm the importance of this text in the early Christian Church. *4 Ezra* is included in the Ethiopian Orthodox Canon, and it has been appended to many printed versions of the Bible since the 16<sup>th</sup> c. (among them King James Version).

<sup>56</sup> METZGER 1983, 520. Quotes from *4 Ezra* are found, e.g., in Clem. Al. *Strom.* 3.16 and in the apocryphal *Epistle of Barnabas* 12:1.



menstruous women shall bring forth monsters.”<sup>57</sup> Here is a text which appears to correspond with Pliny’s views—or at least later readings of Pliny. The English translation above is based on the Vulgate: *et mulieres parient menstruatae monstra*. However, if we scrutinize the other branches of the Ezra tradition this formulation seems askew. Frederik Klijn has collected the textual evidence in his 1992 German translation “[n]ach dem lateinischen Text unter Benutzung der anderen Versionen.” The text he renders is “und Weiber werden Ungeheuer gebären.” I cite his apparatus in full, with the abbreviated sigla written out:

*et mulieres parient monstra*, (Latin) | und an Frauen werden Zeichen gesehen werden; es werden nämlich Fötusse geboren werden, ohne vollendet zu sein, (Syriac) | und von Frauen wird ein Zeichen (*sed plur A<sup>MS</sup>*) geboren worden (Ethiopic) | und Zeichen werden kommen von Weibern (Georgian) |.

Something must have happened with the Latin translation along the way of its transmission, which has subsequently left its traces in many translations into modern languages.<sup>58</sup> Klijn shows that the word *monstra* is a translation of the Greek τέρατα, a word which can mean both “monstrosities” and “signs” in a more neutral sense, something which is reflected in the Syriac and other translations. The word *menstruatae*, on the other hand, is only present in the Latin version, and could have been inserted by mistake, through dittography (menstr-/monstr-).<sup>59</sup> Another possibility would be that a scribe who wanted to “clarify” the reading in 4 Ezra simply added the word *menstruatae* to *mulieres*. Whichever the case, the curse on menstruants got new fuel, undeservedly this time, since menstruation was not even mentioned in the original text.

Another “monster myth” in Eastern literature is the gnostic story about Sophia—Wisdom—bringing forth a child, Yaldabaoth, the Demiurge, without the assistance of a father.<sup>60</sup> This child, Yaldabaoth, created solely from menstrual matter, turned out an androgynous, lion-faced monster, blind, ignorant, weak and lustful.<sup>61</sup> Although there is no outright reference to leprosy here, it is worth noting that one of the main features of *elephantiasis* mentioned in Greek medical texts was the *facies leonina*, or λεοντίασις. The gnostic heterodoxy had a certain influence over the early Church, evident, for instance, in the more or less continuing Christian repugnance toward the

<sup>57</sup> 4 Ezra, 5:8; translation METZGER 1983, 532.

<sup>58</sup> Klijn’s Latin text is based upon ten manuscripts, the earliest of which is from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. (KLIJN 1983, 13–15).

<sup>59</sup> KLIJN 1983, 11f. and 34. A nasal abbreviation, as we have it in one manuscript (V) may also have contributed to the misreading; cf. the apparatus in KLIJN 1983, 34).

<sup>60</sup> The myth about Sophia and Yaldabaoth is transmitted in *The Apocryphon of John*, present in different versions in three Nag Hammadi codices. The originally Greek text has survived only through its Coptic translation. See further WALDSTEIN & WISSE 1995.

<sup>61</sup> FISCHER-MUELLER 1990, 80.

material world and the body. Nevertheless, the “monster argument” in connection with menstrual sex has been explored mainly in the Latin tradition, perhaps due to Pliny’s authority. By and large, the impression is that the ban on menstrual intercourse has been treated somewhat differently in Greek and Latin texts. The tendency to indulge in possible consequences appears to be more uninhibited in the Western medieval material compared to its Greek and Byzantine counterparts. Did the Aristotelian revival in the West inspire these misogynic treatises? Was it a sudden outbreak of leprosy in Western Europe which made the argument useful? Or was it simply convenient for the ecclesiastical authorities to use intimidating tactics to restrain debauchery?<sup>62</sup> This is not the place to fully investigate these matters; I can only sketch part of the process through a few selected authors and texts.

Clement of Alexandria (ca. 150–ca. 215 CE) provides an early juxtaposition of *Leviticus* and Aristotle. In *The Instructor* he asserts that Moses himself forbade husbands to approach their menstruant wives. “Because it is not appropriate that bodily discharge should defile the fertile seed, soon to be a human being, and indeed not that the filthy flow of matter and discharge should swill out the seed to well-formed generation, robbing from it the furrows of the womb.”<sup>63</sup> The picture here is that of a plethora of humor flushing the male seed out of the womb. It does not overtly state that deformity in the fetus will come about. But the opposite correlation of “filthy flow” and “seed to well-formed generation” left the field open for the readers—and later au-

<sup>62</sup> Given the medical outlook of the time, the ban on menstrual sex can admittedly be seen as comprehensible. Even so, one cannot discount the possibility that a Church agenda of preferred chastity lay behind some of these rules. Would all periods of “natural contraception”—menstruation, pregnancy and lactation—have been off limits, if it were not for the patent demand that all carnal intimacy had to have procreation as its goal? Why, if not to minimize licentious behavior, did the Church spread the word that children created through intercourse on Sundays and feast days fell victim to the same diseases as those begotten during menstruation? Cf. Caesarius of Arles, *Serm.* 44, 7: *qui uxorem suam in profluvio positam agnovit, aut in die dominico aut in alia qualibet sollemnitate se continere noluerit, qui tunc concepti fuerint, aut leprosi aut epileptici aut forte etiam daemoniosi nascuntur* (CCSL 103, 199). Likewise, Gregory of Tours held that children engendered on a Sunday would be born crippled, epileptic or leprous (METZLER 2006, 88f.). On prescribed sexual abstinence on Sundays and feast days, see BRUNDAGE 1987, 157–162. In Byzantine texts, this ban does not come forth very strongly (DAGRON 1998, 168). Balsamon mentions it (PG 138, 900), but does not indicate any grave consequences. In the *Life of St. Andrew the Fool*, though, the tone is different: Andrew explains that a man who relapses into this offense could bring death upon himself (ll. 2869–2892; RYDÉN 1995, II, 198–202 and 335). According to an early Islamic source, the *hadith* after Judhama bint Wahb, the prohibition of intercourse during lactation was not upheld in Byzantium: “I was there when the Prophet was with a group saying, ‘I was about to prohibit the *ġīla* [i.e. intercourse with breastfeeding women], but I observed the Byzantines and the Persians, and saw them do it, and their children were not harmed’” (MUSALLAM 1983, 15f.).

<sup>63</sup> Clem. Al., *Paed.* 2.10.92: Ὁ γοῦν αὐτὸς οὗτος Μωυσῆς καὶ ταῖς γαμεταῖς αὐταῖς ἀπαγορεύει πλησιάζειν, ἥν ταῖς ἐπιμηνίοις καθάρσεσιν ἐνεσχημέναι τύχωσιν. Οὐ γάρ πω εὐλογον τῷ ἀποκαθάρματι τοῦ σώματος τὸ γονιμώτατον τοῦ σπέρματος καὶ μετ’ ὀλίγον ἄνθρωπον <ὄν> μολύνειν οὐδὲ μὴν ἀποκλύζειν τῷ ῥυπαρῷ τῆς ὕλης ῥεύματι καὶ ἀποκαθάρματι σπέρμα [δὲ] γενέσεως εὐφυοῦς τῶν τῆς μήτρας ἀποστερούμενον αὐλάκων.

thors—to make their own conclusions. The wording of Clement echoes Philo of Alexandria, who, likewise, points to fertility being the main concern.<sup>64</sup> Philo only says that the seed will be swept away and utterly destroyed if sown during menstruation—no talk of disabled babies here. In the same paragraph he also criticizes the intemperate pleasure-seeking of men who connect themselves with barren women, coveting the carnal enjoyment “like boars or goats.” The menstruant is seen as temporarily barren: that is why the husband should not waste his seed. Incidentally, in addition to describing the incentive for non-procreational sex in words similar to those of Text 29, δι’ ἀκρᾶσίαν ἀνίατον, Philo’s text has the same imagery as Text 29: having intercourse out of mere lust is to behave like swine, σῶον τρόπον, just as the exhortation in Text 29 was that we not “become like swine in the mire.”

One church father, Lactantius, seems to hold a middle ground in this matter:<sup>65</sup> he does not mention menstrual intercourse, only unlimited lusts, but there are wordings which indicate that his text was taken to mean that later on. In *Divinae Institutiones* IV, 26, Lactantius speaks of the figurative meaning of Christ’s sufferings and the significance of His divine works. After mentioning the blind, deaf, dumb, and lame, he adds that He also cleansed the stains and blemishes of defiled bodies:<sup>66</sup>

this [...] prefigured that by the instruction of righteousness His doctrine was about to purify those defiled by the stains of sins and the blemishes of vices. For they ought truly to be accounted as leprous and unclean [*leprosi enim vere atque elephantiaci debent haberi*], whom either boundless lusts compel to crimes, or insatiable pleasures to disgraceful deeds, and affect with an everlasting stain [*labe*] those who are branded with the marks of dishonourable actions.<sup>67</sup>

Essential here is that Lactantius does not say that the lustful and dishonorable will *be* leprous, but that they may be *seen as, held as* leprous.<sup>68</sup> Lactantius is expounding the figurative meaning of Christ’s works and connects

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<sup>64</sup> Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 32–36: Φορὰ τῶν μηνιαίων ὅποτε γένοιτο, μὴ ψανέτω γυναικὸς ἀνὴρ, ἀλλὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον ὁμιλίας ἀνεχέτω νόμον φύσεως αἰδούμενος καὶ ἅμα προοιδασκόμενος μὴ ἀτελεῖς γονὰς ἀκαίρου καὶ ἀμούσου χάριν ἡδονῆς προῖσθαι. [...] λήσεται γὰρ τῇ φορᾷ κατασυρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ὑγρότητος τοὺς σπερματικὸς τόνους οὐ χαλασθεῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐκλυθεῖς.

<sup>65</sup> Born in Roman Africa in 240, Lactantius worked as a teacher of rhetoric in Nicomedia (Izmit), but moved westwards during Diocletian’s persecutions. At the end of his life, he tutored Emperor Constantine’s son in Trier. His life clearly illustrates how interwoven the East and the West were at the time, and, consequently, that we cannot disregard the cultural interchange between Latin and Greek texts.

<sup>66</sup> In accordance with the Old Testament purity laws, the people with defiled bodies would logically include lepers and the woman with an issue of blood (see Mt 8, Mk 1, Lk 5, and Lk 17, on Jesus healing lepers; Mt 9, Mk 5, and Lk 8, on the woman who had bled for twelve years).

<sup>67</sup> COXE 1989, 127.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Ps.-Justin Martyr, n. 24, above.

leprosy with lustful deeds, but on a symbolic plane. Nevertheless, his last sentence is ambiguous: the word *labes* may be taken for destruction, ruin in a more common sense, or it may stand for spot, stain.<sup>69</sup> Although, according to Lactantius, the sinners themselves are those branded with the marks of shameful actions, the later tradition may have reinterpreted this as if it were the offspring that was marked. Likewise, the nuance in *debent haberi*, was dropped: the almost unanimous verdict of later writers became that they (the children) *will be* leprosy. The passage in *Divinae Institutiones* is also interesting from another point of view: it presents an early instance of the word combination “*leprosus et elephantiacus*”; as we will see, this phrase turns up time and again in both Greek and Latin texts on the subject of menstrual intercourse.

Around 380 CE the *Didascalia* was expanded and revised to be part of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, a collection of canonical and liturgical instructions. Though the section on women’s fluxes differs significantly from its precursor, it nevertheless presents a relatively balanced view on the issue. In *Const. App.* 6. 28 we read that husbands should not approach their wives when their natural purgations appear, “out of concern for those engendered.”<sup>70</sup> This could indicate adherence to the view that children would fall victim to deformity or illness (even if that is not stated outright), but it could also be that, just as in the case of Clement of Alexandria, above, there is an understanding here that none at all are born out of menstrual sex. The context is very much focused on procreation as such: one should not have intercourse at all if not to bring forth children, for it is not befitting for a lover of God to be a lover of pleasure.<sup>71</sup> Note that a few lines earlier the text actually states that the menses, ἡ φυσικὴ κάθαρσις, are *not* abominable to God. The medical explanation, that they were designed to regulate the accumulation of humor and strengthen the woman, is recognizable from Aristotle, although in this text God himself is responsible for the arrangement.<sup>72</sup> This view on menses is at variance with the one in *Leviticus*. There is no impurity in menstruation: instead it is pleasure and licentiousness which are impure and abominable.

<sup>69</sup> One may also note that the word *labes* is related to the Greek word λῶβη, which was a *terminus technicus* for leprosy or elephantiasis (see above, p. 198). Cf. Theodoret of Kyrros (ca. 393–ca. 466), *Quaestiones in Octateuchum*, ed. Fernández Marcos & Sáenz-Badillos, p. 172 (in *Leviticum*, qu. 21): φασὶ γάρ τινες ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης συναφείας καὶ λῶβην καὶ λέπραν ἀπογεννᾶσθαι, τοῦ περιττώματος ἐκείνου τὰ διαπλαττόμενα πημαίνοντος σώματα.

<sup>70</sup> *Const. App.* 6. 28, 55–61: Καὶ φυσικῶν μὲν φαινομένων ταῖς γυναιξὶν οἱ ἄνδρες μὴ συνερχέσθωσαν προνοίας ἕνεκεν τῶν γεννωμένων· ἀπεῖπεν γὰρ ὁ Νόμος· “Πρὸς γυναῖκα γάρ, φησὶν, ἐν ἀφένδρῳ οὖσαν οὐ προσεγγιεῖς.”

<sup>71</sup> This is stated clearly regarding intercourse during pregnancy (οὐκ ἐπὶ παῖδων γὰρ γενέσει τοῦτο ποιῶσιν) and prostitution (οὐκ ἐπὶ παιδοποιῆα γινομένην). In the case of adultery, the unsure status of the children is seen as a problem (τούς τε παῖδας ὑπόπτους).

<sup>72</sup> *Const. App.* 6. 28, 48–51: Οὕτε οὖν ἡ φυσικὴ κάθαρσις βδελυκτὴ Θεῷ, δὲ αὐτὴν ὠκονόμησεν συμβαίνειν γυναιξὶν ἐν τριακονθημέρῳ συστάσεως χάριν καὶ εὐρωστίας ἀκίνητοτέrais ὑπαρχούσαις, ἅτε ἐν οἰκίᾳ καθημέναις τὸ πλεῖον.

Jerome's view on menstruants stands in stark contrast to the *Apostolic Constitutions*. "There is nothing filthier than the menstruant," says Jerome (ca. 347–420).<sup>73</sup> Now, we are back in *Leviticus* again, where everything a menstruant touched became unclean. In his commentary on *Ezekiel* 18:6, we have an early reference to impairment of the fetus due to menstruant sex:

Each month women's heavy and sluggish bodies are alleviated through an emission of impure blood. They say that if a man has intercourse with a woman at that time, the fetus will contract the defect of the semen, so that lepers are born from this conception. And disfigured bodies of either sex, with shrunken or enormous limbs, will be the degenerate result of the corrupt blood.<sup>74</sup>

That Jerome has two words for leprosy is worthy of note: this phrase, *leprosi et elephantiaci*, was repeated in several treatises and sermons throughout the centuries, and has its parallel also in Text 29.<sup>75</sup>

Isidore of Pelousion has been called a pupil of John Chrysostom (by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos), something which is chronologically possible though not confirmed. In three letters this presbyter and monk from Egypt explains why the Law prohibits lepers and others who suffer involuntary diseases from entering sacred spaces. Whereas in *Leviticus* lepers and menstruants were two separate groups, each in its own way subject to the purity laws, there is now total symmetry between leprosy and menstrual sex. Why did the lawgiver not permit the leprous inside the sancta? Because their parents had been lascivious and intemperate, Isidore says (τὴν γὰρ ἀκρασίαν

<sup>73</sup> *Nihil immundius menstruata, quæ quicquid attigerit, immundum facit* (Jerome, *Comm. in Zech.* 13:1, PL 25, 1517).

<sup>74</sup> *Per singulos menses, gravia atque torpentia mulierum corpora, immundi sanguinis effusione relevantur. Quo tempore si vir coierit cum muliere, dicuntur concepti fetus vitium seminis trahere: ita ut leprosi et elephantiaci ex hac conceptione nascantur, et fæda in utroque sexu corpora, parvitate vel enormitate membrorum, sanies corrupta degeneret* (Jerome, *Comm. in Ezek.* 18:6, PL 25, 173).

<sup>75</sup> Sharon Faye Koren states that "the Council of Nicea (325 CE) warned that husbands who approach their menstruating wives risk elephantiasis and leprosy for themselves and their unborn children" (KOREN 2004, 331). But this needs rectification: the decree in question comes from the Arabic *spuria*, later additions to the twenty officially established canons of the Council. These 80 canons (in Turrianus' edition) or 84 (in Abraham Ecchelenensis') "pretend to be translations of lost Greek originals, but are demonstrably falsifications made for various special purposes" (DOWNEY 1958, 228). According to Carl Joseph Hefele, they are of much later origin (HEFELE 1855, 348f.; Hefele's examples indicate a *terminus post quem* in the 5<sup>th</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup>, and even 10<sup>th</sup> c., for some of them). Canon 29, on the menstruant's exclusion from mass, is reprinted in MANSI 1759, II, 990 (from Ecchelenensis' edition; notice that this canon is not included in Turrianos' edition, which is why it is not mentioned in *The Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*; PERCIVAL 1977). The prohibition of Canon 29 is extended to cover menstrual intercourse in Caput VIII of the "Sanctions and Decrees by the Same 318 Holy Fathers," also translated from Arabic by Ecchelenensis (MANSI, II, 1038). For our purposes, the Arabic spurious canons cannot help establishing how these ideas became part of the teachings of the Church, but the word combination of *elephantiasis et leprae morbo* suggests the wide dissemination of the tradition, in Arabic as well as Greek and Latin texts.

τῶν γονέων κολάζων).<sup>76</sup> To curb the parents' intemperance, put reins on their lust, and set a limit to the copulation, the law on lepers was established. From untimely intercourse polluted and ugly-looking bodies (ἀκάθαρτα καὶ εἰδεχθῆ σώματα) are born.<sup>77</sup> In the letter to Valens, Isidore elucidates the position of those who are born leprous: it is not those who are born out of this ἀκρασία who are retributed most severely, but the parents. The former group may not consider it a punishment, long used to the illness as they are. Conversely, the punishment on the latter group is pernicious, while instead of seeing their offspring surpass them they see them debarred from the holy assembly. For those who suffer involuntarily, the misfortune is lighter to bear, but the pain is unbearable for those who know that it is a sign of their deliberate intemperance. This standpoint is important for our understanding of the role assigned to lepers in late ancient society: far from being seen as mere outcasts and condemned sinners, lepers could actually be regarded as blessed. In their infirmity and suffering, they had, according to church authorities, already endured purgatory and were thereby closer to paradise. Gregory of Nazianzos called leprosy the Sacred Disease (a term traditionally used for epilepsy), and Gregory of Nyssa tried to convince his congregation not to withdraw from lepers but instead follow the Lord's example, and accept, feed, and embrace them, thereby earning salvation for their own souls as well.<sup>78</sup> Basil the Great and John Chrysostom acted accordingly, initiating the construction of leprosaria in Caesarea and just outside Constantinople. These were never intended for expulsion or confinement, but for the benefit and health of the lepers. That this view lasted through the centuries, is shown from Theodore Balsamon's testimony that lepers in twelfth-century Constantinople continued to live with healthy people (*PG* 138, 552).<sup>79</sup>

The Latin tradition on the prohibition of menstrual intercourse almost unanimously carries the stamp of Jerome's account. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636) is a rare exception. Indeed, he communicates Pliny's views on the menstruum's poisonous quality for crops, et cetera. (*Etym.* XI. 140–142). Although he has much information on portents and monsters, he does not explicitly say that they are created from menstrual intercourse, only that "after many menstrual days the semen is no longer germinable because there

<sup>76</sup> Isid. Pel., *Ep.* 3.46; *PG* 78, 761–764. The same point is borne out in *Ep.* 4.141 (ed. Évieux, *Ep.* 1251; *PG* 78, 1220–21). In the former letter, Isidore gives a telling explanation as to why the husbands approach their wives before the purgation is over: they think the woman is faking it (νομίζοντες πεπλάσθαι τὴν γυναικα).

<sup>77</sup> Isid. Pel., *Ep.* 4.117 (ed. Évieux, *Ep.* 1489; *PG* 78, 1192).

<sup>78</sup> Gr. Naz., *De pauperum amore*, *PG* 35, 865; Gr. Nyss., *In illud: Quatenus uni ex his fecistis mihi fecistis* (= *de pauperibus amandis II*), *PG* 46, 471–489. On the rise of Christian philanthropy and the sermons of the two Gregories, see HOLMAN 1999.

<sup>79</sup> The same message is present in Matthew Blastares' *Syntagma* of imperial and canonical law, from ca. 1335. He refers to John Nesteutes, i.e. Patriarch John IV, d. 525 (Blastares, *Collectio alphabetica*. Kappa, 28). For further examples of compassionate treatment of lepers, and how this tradition also reached Western Europe, see MILLER & SMITH-SAVAGE 2006.

is no menstrual blood to irrigate the ejaculate.” A couple of centuries later, Hrabanus Maurus (780-856) stated loud and clear that children will be born leprous and subject to elephantiasis because they were conceived at the time of menstruation (*Comm. in Ezech.* 18:6; *PL* 111, 706C). This “truth” was thereafter repeated in numerous treatises in the West, whether they dealt with theology, natural philosophy, or medicine. I will just mention a couple of examples. In 1195 Cardinal Lotario dei Segni (soon to be Pope Innocent III) wrote his treatise *De miseria condicionis humane*. This became extremely popular: extant in 672 manuscripts, it had seen fifty-two printed editions by the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>80</sup> According to Lotario, the primary reason for corruption of the semen is the carnal intercourse in itself, the fact that it is performed in libidinous fervor and foul wantonness.<sup>81</sup> Chapter four of *De miseria* presents an interesting mixture of ancient ideas and religious teachings, not unlike what we meet in Text 29. The ancient notion that menstrual fluid is what nourishes the fetus in the womb is presented. Using Pliny—without mentioning the source—Lotario points to the detrimental qualities of the fluid for crops, fruits, and for dogs becoming rabid, et cetera. Fetuses conceived in it will contract the defect of the semen, and as a consequence they will, due to corruption, be born leprose.<sup>82</sup> Just as we saw in Jerome and in Hrabanus Maurus, two words for leprosy, *leprosus* and *elephanticus*, are used to explain what will happen to the fetus. Lotario concludes that this is the reason why Moses in his law reckoned the menstruant unclean and condemned whosoever came near her to be killed. Likewise, monstrosities derive from the parents’ shameful behavior, as Lotario explains in the ensuing chapter.<sup>83</sup>

From the twelfth century onward, the awareness of Aristotle’s teachings was renewed in Western Europe thanks to translations from Arabic. Earlier, the ban on menstrual sex was primarily presented in theological tracts; now natural philosophy and astrology loom large, and gynecological treatises

<sup>80</sup> LEWIS 1980, 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Quis enim nesciat concubitum etiam coniugalem nunquam omnino committi sine pruritu carnis, sine fervore libidinis, sine fetore luxurie? Unde semina concepta fedantur, maculantur et vitiantur, ex quibus tandem anima infusa contrahit labem peccati, maculam culpe, sordem iniquitatis* (*De miseria*, ed. Maccarrone, I, iii, 1). Cf. also the 15<sup>th</sup>-c. treatise *De lepra*, where the anonymous author frankly states that leprous children are generated through menstrual sex because at that time of the month the woman enjoys sex more (*Istis temporibus pueri leprosi maxime generantur in conceptione menstruantis quia tunc mulier tempore menstruorum plus delectatur in coitu quia sanguis eius mordicat et sic venit titillatio. Et sic cum puer concipitur in fluxu menstruorum sine dubio incurrerit lepram vel scabiem*; Basel MS D.III.10, cited from DEMAIRE 1985, 334).

<sup>82</sup> *De miseria* I, iv, 4: *Concepti fetus vitium seminis contrahunt, ita ut leprosi et elephantici ex hac corruptione nascentur.*

<sup>83</sup> *De miseria* I, v, 1: *Quidam enim tam deformes et prodigiosi nascuntur, ut non homines, sed abhominabiles potius videantur* (the spelling of *abhominatio* suggests that Lotario saw an etymological connection to *homo* instead of *omen* – monsters as non-human or sub-human creatures).

play a weightier part. Avicenna (980–1037) taught that leprosy could be due to heredity and to the condition in the womb, as in the case of conception during menstruation.<sup>84</sup> Rabbinic teachings were also part of this interchange of ideas, and since Persian, Arabic, and Jewish philosophy had absorbed much Hellenistic material, it is often hard to distinguish between different paths, and directions, of influence. The medical centers, such as Salerno, were important junctions for the discussion of philosophical and medical theory as well as medical practice.<sup>85</sup> The *Trotula* texts on women's medicine, created and compiled in Salerno, became an integrative part of European gynecological expertise.<sup>86</sup> Other texts, just as, or even more, popular were far more speculative in their outlook: Pseudo-Albertus Magnus' *De secretis mulierum* expatiates on the venomous character of the menstruant, and, together with the commentators on the text, gives several pieces of advice on why one should avoid menstrual sex: the outcome for the male is leprosy and/or cancer in the male member, and the fetus will become leprous or epileptic.<sup>87</sup>

Roughly, one may distinguish between three different kinds of texts which convey the tradition of harm caused by menstrual intercourse: texts of (mainly) theological, philosophical, and medical content. Sometimes these aspects come together and the impact of one upon the other is unmistakable. Text 29 would belong to the theological sphere, even though medical theory is used to support the dogmas. If we return to texts by church authorities, we may mention Thomas Aquinas as a representative of the Catholic tradition. Thomas refers to Jerome on the matter in question, but develops the number of diseases mentioned: "thus is a deformed, blind, lame, leprous offspring conceived: so that those parents who are not ashamed to come together in

<sup>84</sup> Avicenna, *The Canon of Medicine / Al-Qanun fi al-tibb*, IV.3.iii.1; cf. DEMAIRE 1985, 332.

<sup>85</sup> Sharon Faye Koren shows how the gynecological theories of Isaac the Blind (1165–1235) and Nahmanides (1194–1270) are a mixture of kabbalistic theosophy, medicine, and natural philosophy. Their attitudes towards menstruation and the *niddāh* (menstruant) correspond closely with Galenic and Aristotelian models, though, naturally, there was a long rabbinic tradition to build on as well. The association of menstrual blood and inflammatory skin disease (leprosy) is expounded on, but Koren also mentions the Jewish tradition that children engendered during menstruation were impudent. The male participant in menstrual sex is punished with premature death, according to rabbinic teachings; Nahmanides, and other kabbalists, reinterpreted this to signify destruction of the soul (KOREN 2004).

<sup>86</sup> See, for example, GREEN 2001, Introduction.

<sup>87</sup> The menstruant's hair is filled with venom; her body expels toxics which makes men in her vicinity hoarse; by their glance, old women who still menstruate (and some who do not) can poison the eyes of children lying in their cradles; non-menstruating women are even more seriously infected, more toxic, because the menstrual flow has a purgative function, et cetera. Beside Aristotle, his main authority, Pseudo-Albert relies heavily on Avicenna and Averroes. *De secretis mulierum*, composed in the late 13<sup>th</sup> or early 14<sup>th</sup> c., saw abundant proliferation in manuscript and printed form. Moreover, it had an impact on witchcraft persecution by serving as a direct source for the 15<sup>th</sup>-c. inquisitorial treatise, *Malleus Maleficarum* (LEMAY 1992, 49–58).



sexual intercourse have their sin made obvious to all.”<sup>88</sup> That he explicitly mentions blindness may give some perspective to the fact that the compiler/author of Text 29 saw fit to comment upon that kind of impairment. The Byzantine Church also continued to express its concerns about menstrual intercourse, but in a more moderate tone. The few examples I shall cite here are all from the twelfth century and later, coinciding, perhaps incidentally, with the intensified discussion of these matters in the West. It is not impossible that a fuller treatment of the Greek tradition would alter this picture. The canonist Theodore Balsamon, mentioned above for his views on lepers, does not discuss menstrual intercourse, focusing only on whether a woman could be baptized when menstruating, if she could participate in Communion, et cetera.<sup>89</sup> Nikephoros Blemmydes, who in fact includes quite a number of references to John Chrysostom in his work, nevertheless has Isidore of Pelousion as his only authority on the question of menstrual intercourse (cf. Isidore’s views above). This speaks against the attribution of Text 29 to Chrysostom.<sup>90</sup> One aspect which could support the association, is Chrysostom’s frequent usage of medical discourse in the sermons. Nevertheless, this is not particular to him, but appears in other patristic texts as well.<sup>91</sup>

Finally, Michael Glykas, in his *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς*, a text that, interestingly enough, we know the scribe of *Gr 8*, Theodoros, had access to:<sup>92</sup> there Glykas deals with the question whether unborn babies who die prematurely, do so because God foresaw that they would turn out exceedingly wicked (question 37). The author refutes this, arguing that in such a case none of us would have been born, and “besides, it is from natural causes that the infants suffer this, and are often carried off.” Then Glykas adds Ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ εἴπερ ἀνὴρ ἄρρωστος ὢν ἄρρώστῳ γυναικὶ συμπλακῇ, καθὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ Πηλουσιώτῃ δοκεῖ, νοσερὰ τηνικαῦτα τὰ τικτόμενα γίνεται (a sickly man who is intimate with a sickly woman will bring forth sickly children). The reference here is to Isidore of Pelousion, the same letter that was mentioned above (*Ep.* 4.141). But Glykas foregoes menstrual intercourse, instead emphasizing the part of Isidore’s letter where he states that lepers can be sick due to heredity and not only as the result of their parents’ intemperance. God does not want to act on his foresight, patiently awaiting our remorse instead. In addition, He has given us herbs and medical science, so that we act wisely to remove imminent threats to our health. Oth-

<sup>88</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Suppl., question 64, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. VISCUSO 2005, 321.

<sup>90</sup> John Chrysostom is referred to, now and then, in connection with—what we would call—misogynic views, for instance in the *Malleus Maleficarum*, just mentioned: *De mulierum vero malitia differitur [...] Criso(stomus) super Mat. xix* (f. C5<sup>r</sup> in the editio princeps from 1487; ed. SCHNYDER 1991, 41; cf. *PG* 56, 803). The pseudo-Chrysostomic sermon included in *Gr 8* certainly substantiates this connection, and this, more commonly aimed, scorn of wicked women, may be what lies behind the attribution of Text 29 to the Antiochene church father.

<sup>91</sup> On medical discourse in John Chrysostom and other patristic authors, see FRINGS 1959.

<sup>92</sup> Theodoros copied Glykas’ *Εἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θείας Γραφῆς* in *Par. gr.* 3045 (see p. 57).

erwise, Michael Glykas says, we would soon see our destruction from negligence and not due to natural causes. The destruction *not* coming from natural causes is our own responsibility, as is the caution we take deciding when to have intercourse. This is not spelled out by Glykas, but the knowledge on this seems to have been present in Byzantine minds, nonetheless. Glykas even refers to Chrysostom in his argument (ὥς ὁ χρυσοῦς τὴν γλῶττάν φησι), so the question here is: does God's patience, μακροθυμία, match up with the ἀγάπη in Text 29? Could Theodoros himself be the one who added the last paragraph of Text 29, acting on what he may have read in *Eἰς τὰς ἀπορίας τῆς Θεείας Γραφῆς*? The fact that the next text in *Gr* 8, by Mark Eugenikos, brings up the question of predetermination and the end of life, as well as the correspondence between our sins and the penalties we must endure, is also a striking coincidence, in relation to the problems stated in Text 29. Tying the discussion on intemperance and menstrual intercourse to the two preceding, misogynic, texts in *Gr* 8 was unproblematic, but now it turns out that there is also a logic within the texts following Text 29. The theological problems concerning the end of life, sin and retribution, and the question of how God endures the fact that so many sinners perish (Texts 30, 31 and 32), are, to my mind, a compatible line of thought which has everything to do with iniquity and retaliation, reflected also in the dilemma of how disease and God's charity add up (Text 29).

Wrapping up this discussion, I would like to stress the continuing influence of the ancient Greco-Roman world of ideas; the early Church could easily adapt these thoughts to suit their own beliefs, whether on marriage and virginity, on women, or on disease. From Pliny's "chaste elephant" and Plutarch's discussion on the right time for intercourse (at best *never*, or at least only in the dark, so as not to be too overwhelmed and excited, and *definitely* not on a day of worship) you need not add much to have the Christian dogmas fully-fledged.<sup>93</sup> The same link is operating when we come to the prohibition of menstrual intercourse. Without the ongoing—and, in the West, reborn—interest in the ancient heritage of moral-philosophical and medical works, the restrictions on women's lives might have been set differently. Had not women's bodies persistently been associated with weakness, filth, poison and, subsequently, leprosy, the more liberal views of *Didascalia* might have stood a better chance to have a lasting impact on Christianity. This state of affairs is, on a small scale, present in Text 29 as well. The author merges ancient Greek medical and moral views with the Church's discourse on temperance, uses numerological speculation (convergent with Rabbinic beliefs) and counts on the Old Testament notion of retribution on later generations. But he also prepares for another, more compassionate view on the disabled, in accordance with New Testament teachings, even though

<sup>93</sup> Pliny, *HN*, VIII, 12f.; Plut., *Περὶ καιροῦ συνουσίας*, *Mor.* 8, question 6.

still anxious to make this fit with “scientific” explanation. This makes Text 29 a fascinating example of Byzantine culture as the recipient and transformer of cultural influx from various times and places, just as *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus* 8, in its turn, may be seen as such a transformer, with its unique combination of texts from different times, genres, and cultures.

## The method of *ramplion*: Text 66

As the last item of codicological unit twelve (U12), in a quire which crowds a dozen other short texts of various kinds (philosophical commentaries, epigrams, lists of this and that), there is a condensed manual on geomantic divination (ff. 283<sup>v</sup>–285<sup>v</sup>). The text opens with a zodiac wheel, describes how to construct a geomantic chart—the basic “map” with the help of which one could then find out what the outcome of any query would be—and gives further information on “houses” and planets, on geomantic figures, favorable and unfavorable days, et cetera. Geomantic procedure, which could be said to comprise an arithmetical base and an astrologically inspired superstructure, has been portrayed as “a poor man’s astrology,” since one could do away with intricate astrolabes and still keep the aura of a qualified and detached divination through the association with astrological concepts.<sup>94</sup> Thus, in older manuscript catalogs, this kind of text was sometimes mistakenly classified as astrology *per se*. This was also the case with Text 66, which Graux described as *Astrologica quaedam*.<sup>95</sup>

The mixture of texts in U12 may seem a little odd to a twenty-first-century reader: the main text, which occupies slightly more than two quaternions, consists of four lengthy excerpts from Theodoret’s *Cure of the Pagan Maladies*. Theodoret, who was bishop of Kyrros in the mid-fifth century, wrote many works mainly on exegetic subjects, although he is perhaps best known for his *Church History*. The *Cure* is an example of his apologetic authorship, in which he defends Christianity against pagan ideas and practices, although he actually does this with the help of Greek philosophy. Couple this patristic text with the lists of patriarchates and bishoprics further on in the unit, and a divinatory/astrological text would appear to be a little out of place. Actually, if we take a closer look at what passages our scribe Theodoros chose to include from the *Cure*, the incongruity may be less obvious than we thought. The excerpts in *Gr 8* concern cosmos, matter, the creation, the nature of human beings, the soul, providence, et cetera.<sup>96</sup> Worth noting here is that the scribe of *Gr 8* skipped paragraphs 17–31 of Book 4, which indeed deal with the stars, the sun and moon, phases and eclipses on an elementary level, but which also express disdain for this form of knowledge. Theodoret finds it futile to ask how many myriads of stades the distance to

<sup>94</sup> Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) maintained that “[w]hen the sand diviners came, they discontinued use of the stars and the positions of the spheres, because they found it difficult to establish the altitude of stars by means of instruments and to find the adjusted (positions of the) stars by means of calculations. Therefore, they invented their combinations of figures. [...] Many city dwellers who had no work, in order to make a living, tried sand divination” (IBN KHALDŪN, *Muqaddimah* I, 204; transl. Rosenthal, 1958, 228).

<sup>95</sup> GRAUX & MARTIN 1889, 328. The information in Sofía Torallas Tovar’s description of *Gr 8* is just as meager: “Expl. fol. 283<sup>v</sup>: ilegible. Sigue un círculo con los signos del horóscopo al final de la página. Fol. 284<sup>r</sup>: Astrologica quaedam” (TORALLAS TOVAR 1994, 237).

<sup>96</sup> Thdt. *Affect.* 4.5–16 and 4.32–42; 5.8–52; 6.11–26.

the moon is, while, for example, ignoring how deep the sea is.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, in paragraphs 38–42, which are included in the *Gr 8* excerpts, the discussion touches upon the *Logos* as Demiurge, generating the sun, moon, and planets for the sake of time counting. Here Theodoret refers to Euripides, to underscore that the stars are the servants of men: “but you, you accept to serve your servants and credit them with divine majesty.”<sup>98</sup> The excerpts from Book 5 and 6 bring up other subjects which may be of importance in connection with divination: human fortune and misfortune, freedom and necessity, destiny and providence. Nevertheless, even if a text on astrology and divination could somehow be seen to fit in with the patristic text, it is unlikely that the excerpts from the *Cure* were included in the codicological unit with divination in mind. Rather the other way around: questions of man’s destiny, the function of the stars (set up in accordance with God’s plan for man), fortune and adversity, as included in an authoritative Christian text, could secondarily have triggered Theodoros to put the geomantic text here. A view of planets and fixed stars as man’s servants could actually open up for the use of astral divination, letting knowledge about the “servants” improve one’s life, so to speak. Some readers may disagree with my attempt to create a meaningful connection between these two texts, and, rightly, one should not stretch this endeavor too far. My impression, though, is that Theodoros was a thoughtful copyist, who knew what he was up to. An alternative way of looking at this juxtaposition would be to say that an unlikely combination of texts is part of the charm of late and post-Byzantine miscellanies: lendings and borrowings of texts, cultural crossovers, are characteristic of this pan-Mediterranean literary culture. These “Arabic” divinatory texts were translated and imported into Spain, Provence, Italy, and Byzantium, just as the Greek and Latin patristic texts continued to be part of the heritage of Egypt, Ethiopia, Syria, and beyond. Even so, before we take a closer look at Text 66, some perspective on the use of divination in Byzantium could be of value.

## Magic and divination in Byzantium

Byzantine magical practices can basically be seen as links in a long and rich tradition going back to imperial and Hellenistic Greece, and in some cases having precursors as far back as the Mesopotamian royal courts of the second and first millennia BCE. Rather than trying to pinpoint a precise origin of these arts, it is important to stress the high degree of cultural interchange that has allowed ideas and practices to travel back and forth throughout the centuries. Such is the obvious case with astrology, which combines Aristotelian physics and Hellenistic astronomy with Mesopotamian and Egyptian

<sup>97</sup> Thdt. *Affect.* 4.24.

<sup>98</sup> Thdt. *Affect.* 4.41; Eur. *Ph.* 546.

elements, sees further developments in second- and third-century India and later in Sasanian Iran, and, after being improved by Arabic astronomers as to measuring and calculation, finds its way back to Byzantium and to Western Europe.<sup>99</sup>

To find sources of information on magical and divinatory practices, we must for the most part turn to written evidence. Even though there is ample archaeological evidence for the use of amulets, phylacteries, and other instruments employed in magical procedures, it becomes increasingly difficult to evaluate these in the Late Byzantine era, when the use of enkolpia—pendant crosses, icons, and portable relics—also played a part in the official orthodox rite.<sup>100</sup> No doubt the distinction between sanctioned and forbidden contact with the supernatural was basically upheld by the Byzantines themselves.<sup>101</sup> And yet, since Christian culture is ever so aware of demonic powers and their workings, it would be more surprising than not if this awareness did not manifest itself in various ways in Byzantine society.<sup>102</sup> The written sources from late antiquity and the early Byzantine era are predominantly magical papyri; literary sources in various genres also provide glimpses. Documentary evidence from trials gives another perspective on the alleged or actual practice of magic.<sup>103</sup> Among Palaiologan manuscripts we find a considerable number of treatises and handbooks more overtly dedicated to magic. Would this textual material be representative of Byzantine conceptions in general? Though there is no definite answer to that question, the chance is that in focusing on the literate part of society, i.e. the educated and often more affluent, we at least counter the modern misconception that “irrational” and “superstitious” thinking would belong only to the lower strata of society who “did not know better.” Actually, no such correlation is to be found.<sup>104</sup> Another misreading would be to put magic in opposition to more

<sup>99</sup> See further PINGREE 1997, *passim*.

<sup>100</sup> As Brigitte Pitarakis affirms, the use of Pre-Christian amuletic images actually continued throughout all Byzantine periods, at the same time as their Christian counterparts were endowed with multivalent functions, both apotropaic and devotional (PITARAKIS 2006, 180).

<sup>101</sup> That this dividing line was thin is apparent from the vehement claims of several authors that they only write about astrology and similar pursuits on a theoretical level, never to actually practise it themselves. Was this perhaps a necessary defense against condemnation from stricter orthodox circles? Cf. Paul Magdalino, who discusses whether in the time of Michael Psellos and Symeon Seth an attempt was made to “scientificate” astrology, separating it from other forms of magic (MAGDALINO 2006, 95–96 and 121). On the attitudes of Psellos and Michael Italikos towards magic, see also DUFFY 1995.

<sup>102</sup> For a summary of demonological beliefs current in Palaiologan times, see GREENFIELD 1988, 307–326.

<sup>103</sup> Carolina Cupane shows how the entries in the Constantinopolitan Patriarchal Register can provide interesting insights into people’s everyday life and the measures taken by the secular and ecclesiastical authorities to restrain unwanted activities (CUPANE 1980).

<sup>104</sup> Astrologers from the middle and late Byzantine period were in fact likely to be “members of the educated élite, associated with the imperial court and consulted by the rich and powerful” (MAGDALINO 2002, 37). Cf. Hans-Georg Beck’s view: “Es ist erstaunlich, wie weit verbreitet auch in den höchsten Kreisen die Praktiken der Mantik waren und was es sonst an

“rational” branches of expertise, such as mathematics, astronomy or medicine. That distinction between different categories of thinking is of a much later date. On the contrary, the manuscripts bear witness to magic being well integrated with especially what we define as natural science. Just as in Western Europe, it was the educated Byzantines, often medical experts, who inquired into and experimented with divination, alchemy, and astrology.<sup>105</sup>

To sum up: devices to try to foretell the future were manifold in Byzantium and elsewhere. They included astrology, which was looked at with skepticism by the Church, though it was at times practiced even at the imperial court.<sup>106</sup> Other arts of divination included the observation of natural phenomena such as earthquakes and thunder, dream interpretation, and watching the behavior of animals. One could also use various objects such as palms, mirrors, a sheep’s shoulder-blades, or Bible verses, just to mention a few examples of man’s inventiveness in his attempts to reveal hidden knowledge. Divination based on letters and numbers was particularly in vogue in late antiquity, and continued to be used during the Byzantine era in many different ways.<sup>107</sup> This familiarity with numerological applications in combination with a widespread use of astrology as codified for example by Ptolemy, probably prepared the ground for the subsequent circulation of geomantic treatises as well. Here we may recall the categories which Varro (116–27 BCE) used for ancient divinatory arts: he meant that they could all be connected to one of the four elements “*terram, aerem, aquam, ignem: geomantis, aeromantis, pyromantis, hydromantis*.”<sup>108</sup> These categories could, if we simplify things a little, be said to describe Byzantine divination as well, but for one important discrepancy: during Antiquity the term “geomancy” most likely referred to the interpretation of earthquakes or cracks in the ground,

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zauberischen Krimskrums gab. Selbst die Kaiser machen hier keine Ausnahme [...]. Gelehrte wie Michael Psellos, Patriarchen wie Michael Kerullarios und Historiker vom Format eines Niketas Choniates waren überzeugt, dass an diesen Praktiken ‘etwas war’” (BECK 1978, 268).

<sup>105</sup> The medico-magical manuscript *Cod. Bonon. 3632*, would seem to illustrate the caution which scribes and writers of such books had to take. The physician John of Aro (son of Aaron?), who copied the manuscript in 1442, did put his subscription and owner’s notices in the book but always in cryptographic characters. In its 475 folios the manuscript contains astrological, medical, and geomantic texts, dreambooks, spells, and much more. For John of Aro’s subscription, see MCCOWN 1922, 23f. Lynn Thorndike, whose survey of the Western magic tradition is still very important, explicitly states that he deals with the *learned* literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but he also points out that “astrological prediction rode high in public favor, producing most of the ‘best sellers’ of the incunabula period” (THORNDIKE 1934, vol. 4, 611).

<sup>106</sup> Manuel Komnenos, for example, wrote a controversial defense of astrology, a science which he considered necessary for both politics and medicine (MAGDALINO 2006, 109–132). The Palaiologan emperors Andronikos III, John V, and Andronikos IV all consulted astrologers. Maria Mavroudi suggests that the volatile times and continually escalating political troubles could have incited the Palaiologan rulers to resort to such predictions (MAGDALINO & MAVROUDI 2006, 72).

<sup>107</sup> KALVESMAKI 2006.

<sup>108</sup> The quotation is preserved in Servius’ commentary to Vergil’s *Aeneid* (Serv. A. 3. 359).

whereas in the Middle Ages the term came to bear upon “sand divination” instead, at least in Latin texts. This sand divination, or method of *ramplion* as it is called in Text 66, is the subject approached here.

As we will see later on (p. 232), the origin of this art of divination is not fully clear. But it seems likely that in the form outlined in Text 66 it reached Byzantium and the Occident by way of Arabic influence, some time in the twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>109</sup> The geomantic nomenclature used in Greek manuscripts is often transliterated Arabic, even though the art is more often introduced as Persian by Byzantine scribes.<sup>110</sup> The name of the art commonly met with in Greek manuscripts, ῥάμπλιον (in some texts spelled out ῥαβόλιον or ῥαμουλίον) matches the Arabic word for sand, *raml*, and refers to the method of “writing” in the sand, ashes or whatever medium was at hand.<sup>111</sup> The procedure could be modified by using things like grain, pebbles, or even paper and ink.<sup>112</sup> In some manuscripts the art also has a genuinely Greek name, λαξευτήριον or “stone chisel,” which probably refers to the tool used for striking the sand or soil.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>109</sup> An early reference often mentioned is the translation and versification of Al-Zanāfī’s geomantic treatise by the monk Arsenios in 1266 (inc. βίβλος πέφυκα ἀστρονομίας ψάμμου, κτλ.; extant e.g. in *Cod. Berol.* 173, where a marginal addition says: Εὐρεσις Ζανατέως Πέρσου· μεταγλώττησις Ἀρσενίου μοναχοῦ; *CCAG* 7, 49); the author Al-Zanāfī (Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Zanāfī) is referred to in several manuscripts, e.g. in *Bonon.* 3632, *Neapol.* II.C.33, *Par. gr.* 2381, *Par. gr.* 2424, and *Vindob. phil. gr.* 108. Latin translations are attested from around the mid-12th c., a couple of the earliest being by Hugh of Santalla and Gerard of Cremona (CHARMASSON 1980, 93). Anne Regourd has discussed the manuscript situation and the lack of scholarly editions for Al-Zanāfī’s Arabic treatise, but I could not get access to this article (REGOURD 2001).

<sup>110</sup> *Par. gr.* 2491: τῆς περσικῆς τέχνης τοῦ ῥαμπλίου; *Par. gr.* 2424: Πυθαγορικοῦ λαξευτηρίου ἵτοι ῥαβολίου, οὕτω πως λεγομένου περσιστί; *Cod. Laur.* 86, 14: Χαλδαίας οὔσης τὸ πρίν.

<sup>111</sup> The term “geomancy” in Greek manuscripts often indicates that the text is a translation from a Latin model. The procedure of sand divination was described in one of the earliest Arabic sources as the act of tracing marks on the ground, *al-tarḥ bi l-ḥaṣā* (Ibn al-ʿArābī, d. ca. 844 CE; FAHD 1966, 196). Variant terms are *al-khaṭṭ bi-raml*, sand-writing, *ʿilm al-raml*, sand-science, and *ḍarb al-raml*, sand-striking (FAHD 1978, 1128). Greek designations hinting at the use of sand are σποδομαντεῖα and τέχνη τῆς ψάμμου (sand divination, sand art; DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 577), and ψαμμομαντεῖα (cf. *CCAG* 8:1, p. 71). To those one may add the term ἀστρονομία τῆς ψάμμου (sand astronomy).

<sup>112</sup> Joel Kalvesmaki mentions a Byzantine variant, where the geomantic figures were created with the help of lines picked at random from the Gospels or the Psalter: one used the first four letters in the line, checked whether the numbers they represented were odd or even, and put up for each of them a single dot or a pair of dots accordingly to create the figure (KALVESMAKI 2006; as we will see below, this corresponds to the method of *ramplion*, where figures are also made up of single or pairs of dots). This practice may, however, have been a Byzantine adaptation of a more general usage: a similar case but with the use of the Korʿan (τὰς βίβλους τοῦ Μωάμεθ) instead of the Bible, is indicated by the 15<sup>th</sup>-c. chronicler John Kananos (*De Constantinopoli oppugnata*, 249f.). Cf. also Pieter van der Horst’s discussion of Jewish, pagan, and early Christian oracle books (VAN DER HORST 1998).

<sup>113</sup> DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 577f.; cf. TANNERY 1920, 322, and DESROUSSEAUX 1886, 542–544. The use of a “stone chisel” might seem weird in connection with sand, but as an epigrapher’s implement it could perhaps count as a tool for “writing” in general, just as the verb γλύφειν was used for carving and engraving as well as for writing. In some manuscripts the



Geomantic texts in Greek have not attracted much scholarly attention and several of the studies are a hundred years old by now. The only longer text that has been edited is that of *Parisinus graecus* 2419, which Armand and Louis Delatte published in 1936.<sup>114</sup> Some excerpts from the same codex and from *Parisinus graecus* 2424 (late 14<sup>th</sup> century), examined by Paul Tannery, were presented posthumously in 1920; these studies of the subject are still the most informative in the Byzantine area.<sup>115</sup> This dearth of studies in Greek geomancy justifies a presentation of Text 66, even though it is an incomplete text of modest size. As we turn to the text the sequence will be the following: first, the manuscript text is presented together with a translation. The succinctness of the text makes it rather opaque even with a translation. Thus, an explanation of the geomantic chart and of the underlying astrological concepts will be added. Then we will return to the cultural background to and dissemination of this divinatory art. Finally some thoughts are added on the role of *ramplion* in late Byzantium.

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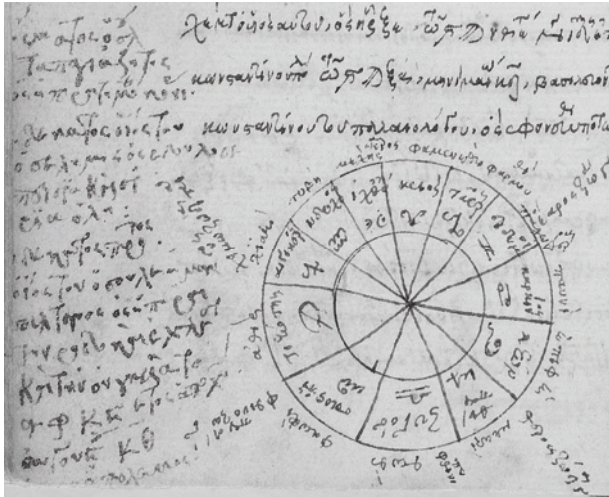
rather sound-alike word λαχητήριον is used instead of λαξευτήριον; here, of course, the connection to λαγχάνειν (to obtain by lot) is easily applicable to the random element of geomancy. The geomantic procedure is also suggestive of the way mathematical calculation was performed during Antiquity. Archimedes used to sketch his circles and geometric figures in sand. Cf. Plutarch, who banters about the sudden philosophical frenzy of Dionysius of Syracuse at Plato's arrival: the king's palace was filled with dust by reason of the multitude of men who were drawing their geometrical diagrams in it (Plut. *Mor.* I, 52D). The dustboard, *takht*, which was used as a kind of minicalculator to perform Chinese and Hindu-Arabic arithmetic, could also fit with the procedure of sand divination (LAM 1996, 40). A dustboard functioned more or less like a wax tablet and a stylus, but with dust or clay instead of wax on the board. An application of the same idea was actually in practice much later, in Swedish elementary schools of the 19<sup>th</sup> c. The front desk in the class-room, where the youngest children sat, was in fact a "sand desk" (*sandbänk*), where the beginners could perform their first writing exercises, before moving on to the use of slate and, eventually, to pen and paper.

<sup>114</sup> DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 591–658.

<sup>115</sup> TANNERY 1920, 295–412, esp. pp. 354–368. On the Latin side, geomancy has been touched upon more recently by, among others, Thérèse Charmasson (CHARMASSON 1980). Emilie Savage-Smith has discussed the Arabic tradition in connection with a 13<sup>th</sup>-c. mechanical device, an intricately elaborated gear with rotating dials, which functioned as a random generator of the geomantic figures without resort to sand or grain for the procedure (SAVAGE-SMITH & SMITH 1980).

Text 66 (ff. 283<sup>v</sup>–285<sup>v</sup>)

A. (f. 283<sup>v</sup>)



Ἑαρος ζώδια Γ' · Κριός, Ταῦρος, Δίδυμοι

Φαμενώθι, Φαρμουθί, Παχών

Θέρους ζώδια Γ' · Καρκίνος, Λέων, Παρθένος

Παννί, Ἐπιφή, Μεσωρί (Μεωρί cod.)

Φθινοπόρου ζώδια Γ' · Ζυγός, Σκορπίος, Τοξότης

Θωθί, Φαωφί, Ἀθίρ

Χειμῶνος ζώδια τρία· Αἰγόκερως, Ὑδροχόος, Ἰχθύες

Χιακί, Τυβή, Μεχήρ

B. (f. 284<sup>v</sup>)

Τοῦ ῥαμπλίου ἡ μέθοδος γίνεται οὕτως· κοκκίζει ὀρδίνους ις' ἀνὰ τεσσάρων τεσσάρων. ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους καὶ τελειοῦνται (τελειοῦνται cod.) εἰς τύπον κύκλου. οἱ δὲ κόκιδες γράφονται ὡς τύχωσιν ἄνευ ἀριθμοῦ συλογισμὸν καὶ ἐνοῦνται δύο δύο, καὶ τὰ λοιπά, εἰ μὲν εἰσιν ἄρτια, λαμβάνομεν καὶ τὰ β' καὶ τίθωμεν αὐτὰ ἰδίως. εἰ δὲ ἓν, τίθωμεν καὶ αὐτὸ ἰδίως. καὶ οὕτως ποιοῦμεν εἰς τοὺς καθόλου ὀρδίνους, ἥγουν τοὺς ις', καὶ τίθονται τέσσαρας δ'. ποιοῦσι δὲ σχήματα δ', ἃ πατέρας καλοῦμεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν ἀπὸ ἑκάστων τῶν πατέρων σχῆμα καταπλάτος. καὶ τίθωμεν αὐτὸ καταβάθος. καὶ ἀποτελοῦμεν σχήματα δ', ἃ καὶ μητέρας καλοῦμεν. εἶτα ἀπὸ τῶν σχημάτων τούτων τῶν πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, ἅτινα εἰσιν η', ποιοῦμεν παῖδας δ'. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων παίδων ποιοῦμεν μάρτυρας β'. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δύο μαρτύρων ποιοῦμεν κριτὴν ἓνα. καὶ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τῶν μαρτύρων καὶ τοῦ κριτοῦ ἀποβαίνει τὸ ἐρώτημα.

**A. [The zodiac:]** (f. 283<sup>v</sup>)

Three zodiac signs of spring—Ram, Bull, Twins—in the months of *Phamenoth*<sup>116</sup> (March), *Pharmuthi* (April), *Pakhon* (May).

Three zodiac signs of summer—Crab, Lion, Virgin—in the months of *Payni* (June), *Epiphi* (July), *Mesore* (August).

Three zodiac signs of fall—Scales, Scorpion, Archer—in the months of *Thoth* (September), *Phaophi* (October), *Athyr* (November).

Three zodiac signs of winter—Capricorn, Water-pourer, Fish—in the months of *Choiak* (December), *Tybi* (January), *Mechir* (February).

**B. [The procedure:]** (f. 284<sup>r</sup>)

The method of *ramplion* is as follows: one beats out sixteen series of marks, in groups of four,<sup>117</sup> beginning from the left and ending in the form of a circle.<sup>118</sup> The marks are drawn at random without any counting and are yoked together in twos, and, for what is left, if it is an even number we take two marks and put them up separately; if it is one we put one mark up separately. In this manner we work out the series complete, all sixteen of them, and we arrange them by fours. They represent four figures which we term “fathers.”<sup>119</sup> After that, we select the marks horizontally from all the “father” figures, each row at a time, and set them up vertically. In that way we accomplish four figures which we term “mothers.” Next, from these eight figures, the fathers and mothers, we create four “sons.” From the four sons we create two “witnesses” and from the two witnesses we create one “judge.” The query then proceeds according to the nature of the witnesses and the judge.

<sup>116</sup> The spelling of the Egyptian names of the months is normalized; cf. PARKER 1950, 8.

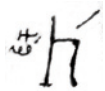
<sup>117</sup> Ὀρδίνος: from Latin *ordo -inis*. Κοκκίζειν: according to LSJ it means to “pick the kernel out of fruit” (used in connection with pomegranates in Aristophanes’ frg. 610). An entry in Hesychios’ lexicon might be interesting here: κρουεῖται· κοκκίζει (Hsch., κ 4239). The first verb may conceivably be related to κρούειν, κροτεῖν (strike) and κρότημα (work wrought with the hammer; LSJ, s. vv.). Considering that the traditional way of de-seeding a pomegranate is to cut the fruit in halves and whack the back of the fruit firmly and repeatedly with a ladle or other gadget to knock the arils out, there might be room here for a connection with the Greek name of this divinatory art, λαξευτήριον, which also indicates an element of striking or hammering (cf. n. 113, above). Similarly, the use of a dustboard or wax tablet, where one “beats out” the marks of one’s future, may be compared to a threshing-floor, where one prepares the grain for future days, beating it out with the help of a pole or flail. Cf. the use of the verb κρούειν in the text of *Par. gr. 2491*: εἰ ἐπαναστραφῆς καὶ τηρήσης τὸ κρουσθὲν ῥάμπλιον, εὐρήσεις αὐτὸ ἐσφαλμένον (DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 594).

<sup>118</sup> The drawing of circles is unusual; in most treatises one is instructed to draw the marks along 4 x 4 lines, usually from right to left (i.e. the same way Arabic is written).

<sup>119</sup> The standard designation of the kinship pattern is: four mothers, four daughters, four granddaughters (or nieces/nephews) and then the two witnesses and a judge. The paternal variant is rare, but it does appear also in a small number of Arabic manuscripts (cf. VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 7, with n. 20). To make the kinship pattern patrilinear is thus not specifically a Byzantine trait, though it does suit the conventions of Byzantine society.

C. <Π>ερὶ βίου· <π>ερὶ πραγμάτων· <π>ερὶ ἀδελφῶν· <π>ερὶ γονέων· (f. 284<sup>v</sup>) <π>ερὶ παίδων· <π>ερὶ νοσούντων· <π>ερὶ γυναικῶν· <π>ερὶ θανάτου· <π>ερὶ ὁδοῦ· <π>ερὶ βασιλείας· <π>ερὶ ἐλπίδος· <π>ερὶ ἀνάγκης· <π>ερὶ εὐφροσύνης· <π>ερὶ ὁδύνης· <π>ερὶ κρίσεως.

D.



Κρόνος.

<H> φύσις αὐτοῦ ψυχρὰ καὶ ξηρά, κακὸς καὶ φθοροποιὸς καὶ θανάσιμος. δηλοῖ τὰ παλαιὰ πράγματα, τὰ προγενέστερα, τὰ βαθέα καὶ τὰ μέλανα. καὶ τὰ βρομισμένα καὶ πάσαν δυσωδίας, καὶ φυλακῆς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου φυτὰ καὶ στηφά, καὶ ἀδίκους ἀνθρώπους καὶ πονηροὺς.



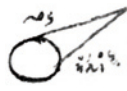
Ζεὺς.

<H> φύσις αὐτοῦ θερμὴ καὶ ὑγρὰ. καὶ ἀγαθοποιὸς καὶ καλός, δίκαιος. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ εἰς ὁσίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἀσκητάς, καὶ εἰς λίθους λευκοὺς καὶ κρυσταλλώδεις, καὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας καὶ εἰς ζῶα εὐμορφα καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ὀπώραν ἃ ἔχει φλοιὸν ἐν τόνδε τὸν καρπὸν. καὶ εἰς τὰ ἀρώματα ἃ ἔχουσιν εὐωδίαν, καὶ εἰς φιλότιμον ἄνθρωπον καὶ εἰρηνικὸν καὶ νομιμάριον καὶ φιλόανθρωπον.



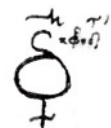
Ἄρης.

<H> φύσις αὐτοῦ θερμὴ καὶ ξηρά, φθοροποιός, καυτὴ (καύτη cod.) καὶ φθείρων. δηλοῖ καὶ εἰς καμίνια πυρὸς καὶ αἱμάτων χύσιν, καὶ πολέμους καὶ ὀχλήσεις καὶ πληγὰς καὶ φόνους. καὶ εἰς πάντα λίθον ἐρυθρόν, καὶ εἰς πᾶν ἄρωμα. καὶ εἰς ἀδίκους ἀνθρώπους καὶ παρανόμους καὶ κλέπτας. καὶ παντοίως κακῶς ὑπάρχει.



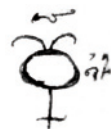
Ἥλιος.

(f. 285<sup>v</sup>) <H> φύσις αὐτοῦ θερμὴ καὶ ξηρά. ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ καλοποιὸς καὶ κακοποιός. δηλοῖ εἰς βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ εἰς τὸν χρυσὸν καὶ λίθους χρυσώδεις. καὶ εἰς χρυσοχρῶς καὶ εἰς κάλλος, καὶ ἀνδρίαν καὶ φιλόπλουτον.



Ἀφροδίτη.

<H> φύσις αὐτοῦ (αὐτῆς?) ψυχρὰ καὶ ὑγρὰ. καλὴ καὶ ἀγαθοποιός. δηλοῖ εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ εἰς μουσικὰ καὶ εἰς εὐνούχους καὶ εἰς γυναῖκας. καὶ εἰς ἀφροδίσια καὶ εἰς κύβους καὶ εἰς χρώματα διάφορα.



Ἔρμης.

<H> φύσις αὐτοῦ μεταβαίνει ἐν ταῖς φύσεσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἀστέρων πλὴν κλίνει εἰς ψυχράν, ὀλίγον καὶ ξηρότητα. δηλοῖ δὲ εἰς φιλοσόφους ἀνθρώπους καὶ γεωμέτρους καὶ ἀριθμητικούς καὶ πραγματευτάς καὶ γλύπτας καὶ στοριστάς. καὶ εἰς ὑδράργυρον (δαργγ cod., cf. *Cod. Par.* 2424, f. 166<sup>v</sup>; TANNERY 1920, 365) καὶ εἰς σχολεῖα (σκόλια cod.) καὶ ἐργαστήρια καὶ πηγὰς ὑδάτων καὶ ποταμοὺς καὶ χειμάρους. καὶ ἀστρονόμους καὶ μάντις καὶ γραμματικούς καὶ στιχοπλόκους καὶ προφήτας καὶ φιλοχρημάτους.



Σελήνη.

<H> φύσις αὐτῆς ψυχρὰ καὶ ὑγρὰ. μετέχουσα καὶ ὀλίγον θερμότητος, σκέπουσα καὶ φθοροποιούσα. δηλοῖ εἰς ναύτας καὶ στρατιώτας καὶ ἀποκρισιαρίους καὶ ὑποχειρίους καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολὺ ἐσθίοντας.

**C. [The houses:]**

On life; on pursuits; on siblings; on parents; (f. 284<sup>v</sup>) on children; on the sick; on women; on death; on travel; on the empire; on hopes; on duress; on happiness; on grief; on judgment.

**D. [The planets:]**

*Saturn*: its nature is cold and dry, bad, destructive, and deadly. It points to former matters, things that took place before us, the deep and the dark; also to the stinking and foul-smelling, to confining and thorny<sup>120</sup> and acrid plants, unjust and base people.

*Jupiter*: its nature is hot and moist, beneficent and good, righteous. It points to pious people and ascetics; also to white stones and crystals, to churches and well-formed beings and to all fruit which has a cover on its body; to fragrant herbs, to an honorable and peaceable person and a law-observing<sup>121</sup> and benevolent one.

*Mars*: its nature is hot and dry, destructive, burning, and ruinous. It points to blazing furnaces and the shedding of blood, to war and distress and calamities and murder; also to all red stones and to all herbs; to unjust and law-breaking people and thieves. It is evil in every possible way.

(f. 285<sup>r</sup>)

*Sun*: its nature is hot and dry, but it is both beneficent and maleficent. It points to kings and rulers and to gold and golden stones; also to the color of gold and to beauty, to courage and love of riches.

*Venus*: its nature is cold and wet, beautiful and beneficent. It points to cheerfulness and music and eunuchs and women; also to sexual pleasures and dice, and various colors.

*Mercury*: its nature fluctuates with the nature of the rest of the stars, except that it tends to coldness and somewhat to dryness. It points to philosophers and land-measurers, to mathematicians, tradesmen, sculptors, and historians; also to quicksilver and to schooling<sup>122</sup> and workshops; to wells and rivers and winterbourne streams; to astronomers, diviners, teachers, poets, prophets, and money-lovers.

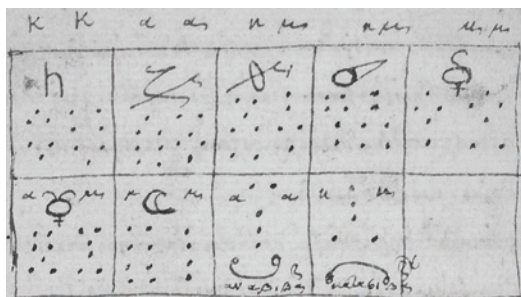
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<sup>120</sup> The form ἀγκαθώδη seems to be a variant of the more common ἀκανθώδη, full of thorns. Correspondent words which have survived into Modern Greek (αγκάθι, αγκαθωτός) attest that the form in *Gr* 8 is not a scribal error.

<sup>121</sup> The term νομμάριος, lawyer, is met with for instance in Doukas' *Historia Turco-Byzantina* 13, 5.

<sup>122</sup> "Schooling" (for σχολεῖα) is my suggestion; in *Gr* 8, the word reads σκολία, i.e. bent or crooked things.

E. (f. 285<sup>v</sup>)



F.

α' πρωϊ	β' δείλης	γ' μὴ χρῶ	δ' δι' ὅλης χρῶ	ε' μὴ χρῶ
ς' δι' ὅλης	ζ' πρωϊας	η' μὴ χρῶ	θ' δείλης	ι' ὁμοίως
ια' δείλης	ιβ' ὁμοίως	ιγ' πρωϊας	ιδ' δείλης	ιε' πρωϊας
ις' ὥρα τρίτη	ιζ' δείλης	ιη' ὥρα γ'	ιθ' μὴ χρῶ	κ' μὴ χρῶ
κα' πρωϊ	κβ' ὁμοίως	κγ' δείλην	κδ' μὴ χρῶ	κε' δείλης
κς' δείλης	κζ' μὴ χρῶ	κη' δείλης	κθ' ὁμοίως	λ' δείλης

G.

- Πρὸς τίνας ἔχει ὁμοίωσιν καὶ ὁδόν; ἔχει ὁδὸν μετὰ τῶν
- διδασκάλων, τῶν γραμματέων, τῶν ἐπισταμένων τῆς γραφῆς. ἡ
- φύσις αὐτοῦ θερμὴ καὶ ὑγρὰ. ἐστὶν ἀνατολικόν. πλανήτης αὐτοῦ ὁ
- 24, οἶκος ὁ 7<sup>ος</sup>. ἡ ἐρώτησις περὶ μεγιστάνων δηλοῖ εἶναι τὸν αἰῶνα μακρόν, εὐειδῆ, πλατυγένειον, οὔτε παχὴν οὔτε λεπτὸν ἀλλὰ μέσον. ταῦτὸν δὲ καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν : –

*Moon*: its nature is cold and moist, though it also has a small share of warmth; it is watchful and destructive. It points to sailors and soldiers, to secretaries, captives, and gluttons.

E. (f. 285<sup>v</sup>)

**[Table showing all possible geomantic figures, their relation to different planets and whether they are good, bad, or intermediate:]**

κ = κακός , α = ἀγαθός , μ = μέσος (good, bad, intermediate)

ὁ ἀναβιβάζων (sc. σύνδεσμος) the ascending node of the Moon; also called “Dragon’s Head”

ὁ καταβιβάζων (sc. σύνδεσμος) the descending node of the Moon; also called “Dragon’s Tail”

F. **[Hemerological table:]**

1 <sup>st</sup>	early	2 <sup>nd</sup>	late	3 <sup>rd</sup>	don’t use	4 <sup>th</sup>	all through	5 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use
6 <sup>th</sup>	all through	7 <sup>th</sup>	early	8 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use	9 <sup>th</sup>	late	10 <sup>th</sup>	likewise
11 <sup>th</sup>	late	12 <sup>th</sup>	likewise	13 <sup>th</sup>	early	14 <sup>th</sup>	late	15 <sup>th</sup>	early
16 <sup>th</sup>	third hour	17 <sup>th</sup>	late	18 <sup>th</sup>	third hour	19 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use	20 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use
21 <sup>st</sup>	early	22 <sup>nd</sup>	likewise	23 <sup>rd</sup>	late	24 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use	25 <sup>th</sup>	late
26 <sup>th</sup>	late	27 <sup>th</sup>	don’t use	28 <sup>th</sup>	late	29 <sup>th</sup>	likewise	30 <sup>th</sup>	late

G. **[Qualities of geomantic figures:]**

- For whom does it have a resemblance and profit? It is profitable
- • for teachers, secretaries and those who know how to write. Its
- • nature is warm and moist. It is an ascendant (eastern) figure. Its
- • planet is Jupiter (♃), its house the Archer (♐). The matter concerns noble-men. It points to a long life, to a comely (person), broad-bearded, neither stout nor thin but of moderate build. The same applies to women.

## How to create a geomantic chart

Text 66 begins at the bottom of a verso page with a zodiac wheel (section A). There is no heading either there or on the next recto page, and Theodoros has not spared any blank line for a later insertion. We are thus thrown right into “the method of *ramplion*” in the description of how to prepare a geomantic chart (section B). The chart is the constellation of geomantic figures upon which the diviner’s interpretation is then supposed to be based. In some manuscripts, the procedure is illustrated graphically, but not so in *Gr 8*. Since the text is not easily understood without this kind of sketch, one may speculate whether Theodoros had already seen the procedure in practice, and thus understood what it was about anyway.

A chart is composed out of fifteen tetragrams, figures consisting of four rows of single or pairs of dots. To create the first four figures, the diviner strikes the ground with a sharp object to make sixteen lines of marks, four lines for each tetragram.<sup>123</sup> This should be done randomly, without counting the marks. Next, the marks in each line are paired together: if only one mark is left at the end, you put one dot for it in the geomantic figure; if they pair evenly, you put two dots in the figure. The tetragrams can thus take any of the following shapes:

.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
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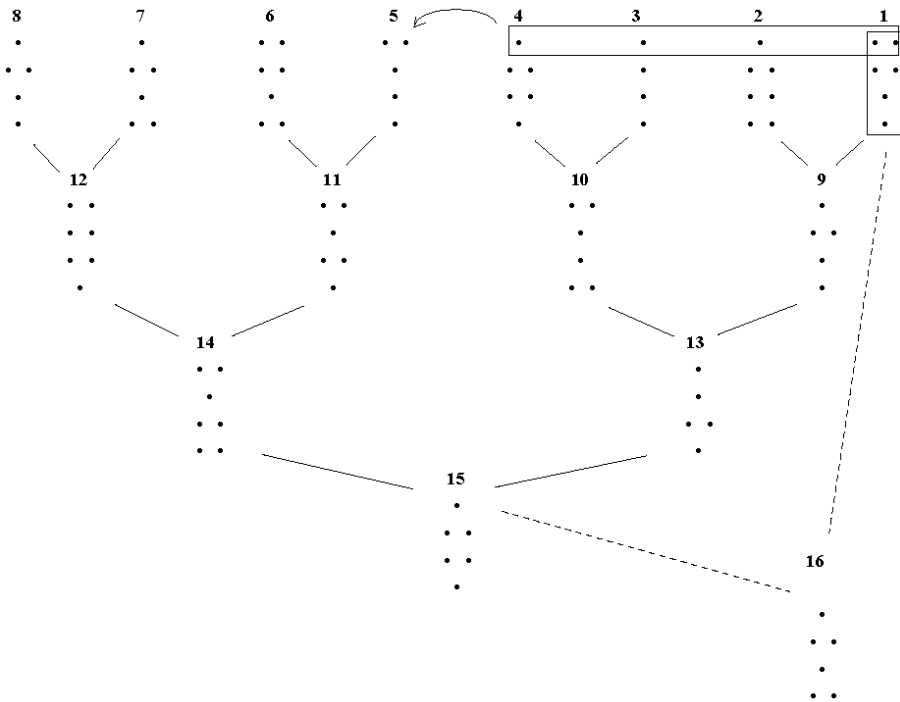
To illustrate the rest of the procedure, let us suppose that the diviner is now done striking the ground and has paired together all the marks, ending up, e.g., with the following four figures:

1	2	3	4
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.
.	.	.	.

Whereas the first four figures in a chart are randomized, the subsequent eleven are based upon these four. The results can be seen in the chart on the next page (it should be read from right to left, just as one would read Arabic script):

<sup>123</sup> Instead of sixteen lines, we have in Text 66 sixteen circles of marks, arranged in fours.





You get figures 5–8 by reading figures 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 together horizontally, one row at a time: the upper row of dots are put vertically to create figure 5, the next row becomes No. 6, and so forth. To create figures 9–12 you get new combinations of even and odd numbers of dots by combining the dots of figures 1 + 2, 3 + 4, 5 + 6, and 7 + 8. By combining figures 9 + 10 you create No. 13, from 11 + 12 you get No. 14, and finally you create No. 15 by combining figures 13 + 14. The finished chart is now made the basis for predictions or elucidations related to the client’s query.<sup>124</sup>

The geomantic figures all have their specific names, qualities, and connections to planets and other celestial phenomena. To this should be added that the outcome of a query also depends on where in the chart the figures end up. The fifteen possible positions in the chart are called *houses*, in resemblance with the so-called mundane houses of astrology. Each house rules over a different aspect of life, as we can see in section C of Text 66. To make an initiated assessment of a laid chart, the diviner had to bring together all this information and relate it to the question at hand. It is reasonable to assume that some kind of handbook would be needed for this second step in the divinatory procedure, at least for novices, but in *Gr 8* there is no such

<sup>124</sup> Sometimes a sixteenth figure is created, by combining the dots of figure No. 1 with figure No. 15. This is only used in cases of uncertain judgment, when the results of the chart are ambiguous.

section included. Text 66 ends rather abruptly, with only one geomantic figure out of sixteen presented at the end of the last verso page of U12. This could mean that a “handbook” was in fact copied in full by Theodoros but that one or two quires went missing afterwards. Another alternative would be that Theodoros was only superficially interested in the art, and chose to keep from the model manuscript just what happened to fit into the quire he had at hand.

## The astrological lore in Text 66

Astrology is, to a varying degree, present in most geomantic texts, and certainly in Text 66. Given that this represents a vast field of research in itself, it is necessary to limit the presentation here so as to touch only upon phenomena encountered in the manuscript text. The concepts are explained in the same order as we find them in Text 66.

**Section A**, the *zodiac*: astrological calculations are based upon a conception of the universe where the earth is at the center and the other celestial bodies (stars, planets, moon, etc.) seem to ambit around it in fixed orbits. The most important orbit is the *ecliptic* of the sun, i.e. its apparent annual path over the celestial sphere, as perceived by an observer on earth. The zodiac is a representation of the astral constellations which the sun appears to pass through on its route, counting from the vernal equinox and forward. With the solar path divided into twelve equal parts, it became possible to tell in what “sign” the sun was posited at a particular time of the year. The zodiacal circle on f. 283<sup>v</sup> shows the relation between the zodiacal signs, the months, and the seasons.

**Section B** deals with the construction of the chart. This was discussed above.

**Section C** is an enumeration of the geomantic *houses*. The astrological concept of houses is actually twofold: one interpretation concerns which zodiacal sign the planets are “at home” in, i.e. their own signs, the ones that they rule. Each planet is thought to be the ruler of two signs, except for the luminaries (Sun and Moon) which rule one sign each. This is connected to the division of the signs into day- and night-signs. Signs from Leo to Capricorn were day-signs, Aquarius to Cancer were night-signs. The Sun ruled over Leo and the Moon over Cancer. The rest of the planets were assigned as rulers over one day-sign and one night-sign in the following way: Saturn – Capricorn and Aquarius; Jupiter – Sagittarius and Pisces; Mars – Scorpio and Aries; Venus – Libra and Taurus; Mercury – Virgo and Gemini.<sup>125</sup> The importance of knowing where the planets are “at home” stems from the idea that their characteristic influence is increased when they pass through their own zodiacal constellation. The second interpretation of “houses” is even

<sup>125</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 1. 20.

more abstract: counting counter-clockwise from the Ascendant (the point of the zodiac rising over the horizon), these *mundane* houses were visualised as permanent and stationary sectors of the heavenly sphere, like a fixed compass wheel set in relation to the rotation axis of the earth. Each of the usually twelve segments of this wheel governed certain aspects of life. In accordance with their movement across the sky, the zodiacal signs and planets were thought to enter one house after another, thus entering and influencing new aspects of human existence in each segment.<sup>126</sup> The *geomantic houses*, finally, are modelled on the concept of mundane houses in astrology, i.e., the first twelve positions in a geomantic chart govern the same areas of life as do the segments of the astrological “heavenly wheel.” As the geomantic chart includes three (or even four) positions further, these are then given a special significance in the interpretation of the cast chart. They are the “witnesses” (i.e., positions 13 and 14 in the chart on p. 225), the “judge” (position 15), and the “judge’s judge,” in case a sixteenth figure is needed to elucidate the reading (position 16; cf. n. 124, above).

**Section D** is a description of the planets and their elemental qualities which are associated with everything from natural phenomena, botany, minerals, and events, to people—their disposition, interests and professions. To an earth-bound observer most of the stars appear to always retain the same position in relation to one another. These are called “fixed stars.” The celestial bodies which are observed as moving in the sky are called “wandering stars” or *πλάνητες ἀστέρες*. That is the reason why the ancients counted not only Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn as *planets* but also the Moon and the Sun. These seven “planets” all wandered through the heavens and could thus be observed as they passed through the zodiac. The planets were associated with certain qualities, temperaments, genders, day/night, et cetera. These temperamental differences decided which planets were malefics or benefics. As Ptolemy says about the four temperaments or fluids: “two of the four humors are fertile and active, the hot and the moist (for all things are brought together and increased by them), and two are destructive and passive, the dry and the cold, through which all things, again, are separated and destroyed.”<sup>127</sup> The influence from the planets is of paramount interest to astrological deliberations: in Ptolemy’s description of the fixed stars and their respective influence it is obvious how each star is compared to, and is said to operate like, this or that planet (this applies to fixed stars within the zodiacal

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<sup>126</sup> These *mundane* houses are sometimes called “Places,” in order to distinguish them from the zodiacal houses (BARTON 1994, 98). I keep the term “house” here, since that is the term we meet in Byzantine geomantic texts (οἶκος, οἶκημα).

<sup>127</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 1. 5. 1. (transl. Robbins). An application of this view of the fluids was touched upon in the discussion of Text 29, where the embryo was imagined to be concocted and shaped by the heat and moisture in the womb, while too much dryness at the end of the shaping process could be hazardous for the perfection of the eyes.

constellations as well as those south and north of the zodiac).<sup>128</sup> Another influential aspect is the four cardinal points of the horizon, also seen as the main directions of the wind. Given the impact of the Sun during the day, the eastern point (angle of the ascendant) is mainly dry, the southern point is hot, the western point (occidental angle) is moist, while the northern point—also called the lower heaven—is cold.<sup>129</sup>

**Section E** is a table of all geomantic figures, showing their planetary or other celestial connections, and indicating the good/strong, bad/weak, or intermediate/ambivalent impact of the figures on the query at hand. As we can see in the table above, fourteen of the sixteen geomantic figures are connected to a planet. Two figures, however, are instead accompanied by the terms ἀναβιβάζων and καταβιβάζων, which refer to the more abstract concept of nodes. The orbit of the moon is slightly tilted in relation to the ecliptic. This means that its path seems to cut the ecliptic in two nodes (intersecting points).<sup>130</sup> These points are important for predicting eclipses. For an eclipse to appear, the Sun and Moon must be close to a node simultaneously. Lunar eclipses are liable to appear at Full Moon, while solar eclipses (occultations) appear at New Moon, in both cases given that there is a syzygy, i.e., provided that the Sun, Earth, and Moon stand in conjunction to each other—that they “are in a line.” The ancient belief that eclipses were the result of a dragon’s devouring of the sun or the moon is the reason why the nodes are often called Dragon’s Head and Dragon’s Tail.<sup>131</sup> In astrology the Dragon’s Head is seen as positive and beneficial, while the Dragon’s Tail expresses the opposite qualities. This tallies well with the characterisation in Text 66, where the ascending node, ὁ ἀναβιβάζων, is described as ἀγαθός (α), and the descending node, ὁ καταβιβάζων, as κακός (κ). The ascending node (ἀναβιβάζων, ♌) indicates the point where the moon’s orbit crosses to the north of the ecliptic, and the descending node (καταβιβάζων, ♍) the moon crossing the ecliptic southwards. Our scribe has, for some reason, swapped the sym-

<sup>128</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 1. 9.

<sup>129</sup> Ptol. *Tetr.* 1. 11. In Chinese tradition, the cardinal points are at the heart of the geomantic interpretation; one even talks about a “compass school” (BRASWELL-MEANS 1990, 133f.). Braswell-Means contends that this stands in contrast to the Arabic-Western tradition with its focus on time rather than on space. However, if we compare the use of Feng Shui to the Malagasy geomantic tradition, the East Asian geomancy does not turn out to be so unique. The geomantic procedure is in both cases employed to make spatial considerations, finding the right geographic locale, erecting houses and designing interiors in a way that ensures that one stay in balance with the elements or with the gods. On the spatial use of geomancy in Madagascar, see VÉRIN & RAJAONARIMANANA 1991, 56–59. Time and space—the planets are clearly the guardians of both. Similarly, even if Byzantine geomancy is used mainly to find the right moment for acting in some way or other, the texts do refer to the compass directions: we see this also at the end of Text 66, where the geomantic figure is described as an “Eastern” figure (cf. p. 222f.).

<sup>130</sup> Compare the more familiar phenomenon of solar nodes, the positions where the ecliptic intersects the equator. The nodal points are then referred to as the vernal and the autumnal equinoctial points.

<sup>131</sup> BERRY 1961, 48.

bolts written directly below the geomantic figure (  $\Omega$  ,  $\mathcal{U}$  ): these symbols should probably change places.<sup>132</sup>

**Section F** concerns *hemerology* or the belief in auspicious and inauspicious days. The hemerological table on f. 285<sup>v</sup> indicates when and on which days of the month it is suitable to proceed with divination. Despite the important place of the Moon in magic and divination, the calendar forming the basis of astrological texts is rarely based on lunar months. I will not go into definitions and lengths of different lunar months here (synodic, anomalistic, draconic, sidereal), but simply state that from early on it was the Egyptian calendar, with twelve 30-day months and five intercalated days (αἱ ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι, resulting in a year of 365 days) that became standard in Greek astronomy and thus in many divinatory texts.<sup>133</sup> This may explain why the picture of the zodiac in Text 66 is accompanied by Egyptian names of the months, even though there were other possible ways of denominating the months in Byzantium.<sup>134</sup> The origin of the seven-day week—through Jewish and Christian mediation in use even today—is linked to the Assyrian belief that the seven planets ruled in turn over the hours of the day.<sup>135</sup> The week-days were accordingly dominated by the planets, i.e., the divinities that ruled the very first hour of each day. Just as the planets had their qualities, being benefic, malefic, or shifting, so also the hours and days in the week became influenced by these.<sup>136</sup> This was probably one source of the vast array of beliefs in auspicious and inauspicious hours, days, and years, beliefs which multiplied and eventually ended up in *The Farmer's Almanac*, which has

<sup>132</sup> I cannot say if this is a scribal mistake or if the use of symbols in the late Middle Ages was different from modern usage. The same switch of the nodal symbols is present also in *Par. gr.* 2424, f. 163<sup>v</sup> and f. 189<sup>v</sup>; see TANNERY 1920, 359 and Pl. II (right before p. 357).

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, Proklos, *Hyp. astr.* 3.56; Cf. FREETH 2006, 588.

<sup>134</sup> An overview of different naming systems is given by Andrew Libadenos in connection to his 14<sup>th</sup>-c. travel narrative *Periegesis* (LAMPSIDES 1975, 129).

<sup>135</sup> The sequence was determined by the perceived distance of each planet—it was thought that the slower the motion of a body over the celestial sphere the further away in space it must be. Thus Saturn was viewed as the most distant planet, followed by Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. This is, evidently, the order followed also in the presentation of planets in Text 66. That this sequence is not immediately seen in the sequence of week-days, comes from the seven-hour sequence moving down through the weekdays: Saturn ruling the 1<sup>st</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> hour of the first day (hence “Saturday”), and subsequently the 5<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, etc. of the second day; Jupiter ruling the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, 16<sup>th</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> hour of the first day, the 6<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of the second, and so forth (cf. the presentation of days in *Cod. Athous Dion.* 282, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>–29<sup>v</sup>, edited in DELATTE 1927, 649–651). Emperor Constantine the Great officially introduced this week in 321, thus replacing the former Egyptian-Greek week of ten days and the Roman system of Nones, Ides and Kalends. Gilbert Dagron notes that few attempts were ever made to Christianize the planetary names of the days (DAGRON 1990, 147). I would think that the Byzantines had little need for that, since they followed the ecclesiastical tradition in naming the days (Sunday was *Kyriake*; thereupon followed *Deutera*, *Trite*, *Tetarte*, *Pempte*, *Paraskeue* for “preparation day” and *Sabbaton* for Saturday). The lore of planetary connections to the weekdays apparently survived despite this neutralization in naming. A couple of Byzantine Christianizations of planetary names are presented in HÜBNER 1983, 144–147.

<sup>136</sup> For an account of lucky and unlucky hours, see e.g. CCAG 12: 198–199 (from *Cod. Mus. Hist. Mosq.* 186).

seen new editions ever since.<sup>137</sup> The Assyrian hemerologies are often seen as precursors to the account of lucky and unlucky days which Hesiod included in his *Works and Days*, and to the Orphic *Ephemerides*.<sup>138</sup> Another trail, however, brings us all the way back to Pharaonic Egypt, where calendars of good and bad days have been transmitted in papyri at least from the Middle Kingdom and onwards.<sup>139</sup> In Egyptian papyri one can find precisely the division of the day into three parts, each part either good or bad, that are extant also in Byzantine hemerologies. The reason why a whole day or just part of the day had a certain influence is not quite clear. According to Theodor Hopfner it was connected to the activities of Egyptian gods on specific days of the year: the feast day of Râ, the day of the fight between Hor and Seth, et cetera.<sup>140</sup> In *Papyrus Sallier IV* (BM 10184; ca. 1300 BCE), one can read that the fifteenth day of the month *Phaophi* is good in the morning and mid-day but bad in the afternoon: “Verlass deinen Aufenthaltsort nicht in der Abendzeit, denn die Schlange Uatch, der Sohn des Gottes, geht aus um diese Zeit und Unglück folgt ihr,” as Hopfner translates. On the other hand, the fourth of the same month is put up as “bad, good, good,” but the prescriptions are simply “do not leave your house at all on this day; a person born on this day will die this day from severe illness.” That the moon, and perhaps other planets, were considered influential may be concluded from the title of some of the records: *πεφωτισμένοι καὶ ἀφώτισται ἡμέραι*, lit and unlit days. Hemerologies were consulted for guidance on *καταρχαί*, “beginnings,” i.e. when to undertake a certain activity (travel, marriage, business deals, medical treatment), and also for birth prognoses, to determine the character and future of a child born on a certain day.<sup>141</sup> Not least, they were crucial for

<sup>137</sup> The same idea was even applied to millennia: Patriarch Gennadios (George Scholarios) referred to his own time as “the millennium of the Moon” (τὴν ἐβδόμην χιλιάδα ταύτην [...] *χρονοκρατορίαν οὐσαν σελήνης*). It followed upon the millennia of all the other planets and revealed its Selenic nature through the brevity of human lives, the inconstancy of fate and the political vicissitudes taking place just then (PETIT 1930, 3, 287).

<sup>138</sup> On Hesiod, see WEST 1978, 348, with further references, and WEINSTOCK 1949, 57f. For the Orphic fragments on day prognostics, see KERN 1922, 274–279.

<sup>139</sup> Theodor Hopfner refers to the “Kahunpapyrus,” *BM Kahun XVII,3* (HOPFNER 1921, 229); cf. GRIFFITHS & PETRIE 1898, 62 with Pl. 25. Lana Troy gives an overview of the religious contents and the cultural setting of some of these calendars; the Kahun papyrus, though, is misnumbered in this article (TROY 1989).

<sup>140</sup> HOPFNER 1921, 229.

<sup>141</sup> Stefan Weinstock gives an example from *Cod. Bodl. Cromwellianus 12*, p. 402, where the text gives advice on “medical treatment, horse-breeding, travel, marriage, slave-trade, hair- and nail-cutting, clothing, agriculture, etc.,” in addition to information on the planetary ruler of the day, and the horoscope for a boy or girl born on that day (WEINSTOCK 1949, 49 and 55). Often enough, hemerologies are more specialized and focus on just one thing, like dream interpretation, or the right time for blood-letting; cf. Erik Widstrand and Emanuel Svenberg, who have discussed the Latin tradition of “Kollektivlunaria” and “Speziallunaria” (SVENBERG 1936 [in Swedish]; WIDSTRAND 1942; SVENBERG 1963). See also László Chardonnens’ suggestions of how to denote different lunar prognostic genres (CHARDONNENS 2007, 393–398). Chardonnens is mainly working with Latin and Anglo-Saxon texts, but his discussion is worthy of note also for the Greek tradition.

divinatory practice.<sup>142</sup> This mantic use of the hemerological table—the *selenodromion* as it is called in Greek—is attested also in the manuscript tradition of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*.<sup>143</sup> Here, too, either the whole day or a certain part of the day can be useful or not, just as we have it in section F of Text 66. In the later redaction of the *Sortes Astrampsychi* a table of days is included which is identical to the one in Text 66. It is preceded by these instructions:

Seek out the day and time on which the oracle works best. You should inquire on the following weekdays: the third—day of Ares, the fifth—day of Zeus, the sabbath—day of Kronos, and the Lord’s day which is the day of the Sun, and in no wise on other days. Use the third hour of the Lord’s day, the sixth of the sabbath, the fifth hour of the fifth day and the third hour of the third day, because on these days and times the answers given are more reliable. And before you consider the inquiry, consider if the time is right to devote yourself to the oracle, as the thirteenth [day] is the most important [...]. Further, you should consider the days of the Moon [or month], the way they are set forth here.<sup>144</sup>

Whether a combination of these precepts with the ensuing table of allowed and forbidden days and times of the Moon cycle (month) amounted to a reasonable practice is debatable. It could be the result of interpolation, someone adding an alternative way of deciding on the right time for oracles. Nevertheless, *selenodromia* were obviously assumed to be important, since they are transmitted in numerous magical (and medical) manuscripts of late Byzantine and post-Byzantine date.

**Section G**, finally, describes one of the geomantic figures, the so-called *laetitia*, joy. The information in section D, the description of the planets, and in section E, the connection of each figure to a planet or celestial phenomenon, has provided the background, and now we see how the laws of cosmic sympathy are replicated in the qualities of the geomantic figure. We learn about the celestial relations and general qualities (warm, moist, and ascendant, in the case of *laetitia*). Furthermore, there is specific information on what kinds of people are concerned, their professions and societal position, and also the physiognomic appearance and character of such a person.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. the title ἡμερομαντεῖα κ[αὶ] ὥραι, in the papyrus *BM gr. 121* (3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE), which clearly spells out the use of the account of days in connection to divination, explaining when it is propitious or not to seek out the hidden knowledge (PREISENDANZ 1974, II, 6f.; HOPFNER 1921, 228).

<sup>143</sup> The “Lots of Astrampsychos” is an oracle book stemming from the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. CE. The book, which contained 92 questions and around ten possible answers to each of the questions, became widely spread in both pagan and Christian versions, and is extant in 3<sup>rd</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> c. papyri and in medieval manuscripts from the 13<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.

<sup>144</sup> STEWART 2001, 3; *ecdosis altera*, from *Erlang. 89; Laur. 28, 14; Marc. 324* (my translation). For an introduction to and an English translation of the main text of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, see HANSEN 1991, 287–324.

## Why is Text 66 incomplete?

After the description of just one geomantic figure (*laetitia*), the text in our manuscript breaks off. This comes precisely at the end of the last verso page of the quire (and also of the codicological unit; i.e. Q38 in U12). As I mentioned above, it is not evident whether or not Theodoros originally continued presenting the rest of the geomantic figures and followed up with an interpretational catalog, similarly to many other treatises. If he did give this additional information, it would have helped the reader assess the combination of geomantic figures and houses, and connect this to the astrological lore of cosmic sympathy, physiognomy, and much more. If Theodoros intentionally broke off at f. 285<sup>v</sup>, one wonders to what use the text could have been put. Was the model manuscript incomplete? Or did Theodoros only want a brief orientation around the procedure of casting a chart? One small detail could perhaps support the latter alternative, and that is the professional link of the figure *laetitia*. Besides being one of the most positive geomantic figures, it is also connected to “teachers, secretaries and those who know how to write.” Theodoros as a copyist may have liked that association. All in all, though, I would rather think that the text is incomplete by accident, and that one or two quires are absent from the book.

## A further look at the background of geomancy

Although geomantic texts are found in quite a number of late medieval manuscripts, it is not a form of divination which has been given much attention in research, at least compared to its big sister, astrology. Therefore we will make room for a brief discussion of the cultural background of this art.

Geomancy is one of the most widely spread divinatory techniques in the world: from China and India in the east to Senegal and Morocco in the west, and from Anglo-Saxon Europe to Botswana in Southern Africa.<sup>145</sup> So where did it come from? Most often the art is referred to as Arabic or Islamic, since wherever Arabic and Islamic influence has reached, so has geomantic divination.<sup>146</sup> As for the origin, it may be as complex to trace as in the case of

<sup>145</sup> With the African slave trade it also proliferated in the West Indies and South America. Furthermore, it is indeed still practiced in many parts of the world, for instance in parts of Africa, on Madagascar, and in Chinese-speaking areas, where the art has merged with the long-revered art of Feng Shui—nowadays popular also in the West (on geomancy in Africa, see for example FAHD 1966 (covers Arabic divination at large); MAUPOIL 1988 (Benin); JAULIN 1966, 147–163 (Sudan, Tchad, Benin); VAN BINSBERGEN 1996b (Botswana with surrounding areas); VÉRIN & RAJAONARIMANANA 1991 (Madagascar); on Chinese geomancy, see BRASWELL-MEANS 1990.

<sup>146</sup> See for example JAULIN 1966, 13–16; FAHD 1966, 196–204; SAVAGE-SMITH & SMITH 1980, 1; Carra de Vaux is more guarded, only stating that the origin of Arab divination “reste chez les Orientaux, purement légendaire” (in: TANNERY 1920, 303). To call geomancy “Islamic,” is perhaps a way to avoid falling into an ethnic pitfall, but even the religious label is



astrology, referred to above. Arabic manuscript evidence brings us back to the tenth or ninth century CE, but this does not leave out the possibility of an earlier existence of geomancy, whether on Persian, Egyptian, or other soil. The necessary components for the art were present already in the astrological lore of Ptolemy or Vettius Valens, and the fad for numerology and *Sortes* literature (divination with the help of random choice from a handbook of questions and answers) during the same era would seem to match up with the procedure of geomancy. Armand and Louis Delatte suggest that the book entitled *Ἀμοκοπία* (sand striking), supposedly written by “Orpheus,” could point to a Neopythagorean connection. The hypothesis would be that this kind of sand divination was known and practiced in Greek-speaking areas during late antiquity when “Pythagorean” and Hermetic mysticism were in vogue, but later became reintroduced to Byzantium and Western Europe in its Arabic form.<sup>147</sup> A reference preserved in the prooemium by Niccolò of Otranto to one geomantic text may possibly provide a lead here: Niccolò says that he himself translated the text from a Latin model, but also added what he had compiled from several Greek manuscripts. He ends his prooemium with the words γέγονεν δὲ πρῶτον ἡ τοιαύτη σοφὴ τέχνη τρὸς τοιῷδε, ὡς ὁ Σελμῶν αὐτὸς ἄρχεται τοῦ ταύτης συντάγματος οὕτωςί πως, according to *Codex Scorialensis Φ II 14*.<sup>148</sup> In *Parisinus graecus 2419* (copied by George Meidiatas in 1462) the reference is even more detailed: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ Ἄραψ Σελμῶν ὁ πρὸς Μαμοῦν ἄνακτα τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ταύτην τὴν τέχνην ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης ἀστρονομίας συντάξας φησιν.<sup>149</sup> It is not unlikely that this “Selmōn” points at Salmān, the chief librarian of Caliph al-Ma’mūn (813–833). Salmān was the leader of the ‘Abbāsīd delegation to Constantinople, sent to acquire Greek books from the Byzantine court of Emperor Leo

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problematic. As a reminder, we may recall what it looked like at the Abbasid court in the late 8<sup>th</sup> c.: the chief astrologers were Theophilus of Edessa, a Greek from Syria (Nestorian Christian), Abū-Sahl ibn-Nawbakht, a Persian (convert from the Zoroastrian religion), Māsā’allāh, a Jew from Basra (Jewish name Manasse), and Abū-Ma’sar, a Persian (born in Balkh, now Afghanistan); GUTAS 1998, 108f. These astrologers all played a part in Arabic/Islamic cultural history, but it was their linguistic and cultural otherness that made them useful for the caliphate. Likewise, for the origin as well as the spreading of geomancy, the blend of several cultural traditions was probably more important than a precise ethnic or religious affiliation.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. *Suda*, s.v. Ὀρφεύς (Omicron 654); DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 578–580 and 585.

<sup>148</sup> *Cod. Scor. Φ II 14*, f. 47<sup>v</sup> (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c., according to Gregorio de Andrés’ catalog); the manuscript is written by a single scribe, and readers’ notes from 1430 onwards imply a composition date at least prior to that (ANDRÉS 1967, 41f.). The prooemium is preserved also in *Cod. Flor. Laur. 86,14*, f. 47<sup>v</sup> (15<sup>th</sup> c.).

<sup>149</sup> *Cod. Par. gr. 2419*, f. 228<sup>r</sup> (DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 597). The Latin treatise, which Niccolò used, seems to have been the one produced by Hugh of Santalla. In her study of Hugh’s text, Thérèse Charmasson makes no mention of a person named Selmōn or Salmān (CHARMASSON 1980). This piece of information ought therefore to have come from the scattered Greek treatises which Niccolò used for his compilation. Cf. *Cod. Scor. Φ II 14*, f. 46<sup>r</sup>: Νικολάου Ὑδροῦσης προῖμιον εἰς τὴν τοῦ λαξευτηρίου τέχνην, ἐξελινιστεῖσαν παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου, χαλδαίαν οὖσαν τὸ πρῖν, καὶ συνταχθῆσαν ἐκ τε ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐλινικῶν σποράδην εἶδη (sic) γε ὑπάρχουσιν.

the Armenian.<sup>150</sup> These books were then translated into Arabic in Baghdad. We know that astrological works were a top priority and in great demand at the ‘Abbāsid court,<sup>151</sup> so perhaps geomancy was part of the parcel already at that time. This suggestion would be interesting to follow up as a potential missing link to an early use of geomancy, which then got a wider audience in its Arabic version, only to end up being translated once again into Greek in Otranto, in the early thirteenth century.<sup>152</sup>

Wim van Binsbergen has suggested a reevaluation of the origins of geomancy. Given that most manuscripts—including the Arabic which are usually taken to be precursors to all Western European and Byzantine geomantic texts—present a very heterogeneous collection of names of the geomantic figures, names which apply to different semantic categories such as physical appearance, emotions, colors, astronomic terms, et cetera, van Binsbergen argues that the text in *Parisinus graecus* 2419 could actually represent an earlier, uncorrupted stage of the geomantic art.<sup>153</sup> In this manuscript the names of the figures can all be interpreted in astrological terms, thus providing a comprehensive system of nomenclature.<sup>154</sup> Although van Binsbergen’s proposal certainly does not prove an ancient Greek or Byzantine origin of the art of geomancy, it does encourage us to look beyond the apparent “fact” of a tenth-century Arabic or Islamic invention of geomancy. Another intriguing idea offered by van Binsbergen is the possibility that the geomantic text in *Codex Harleianus* 5596 could convey a form of “proto-geomancy.” He

<sup>150</sup> WELLISCH 1986, 21; cf. al-Nadīm *Fihrist*, 7. 1 (DODGE 1970, 584).

<sup>151</sup> GUTAS 1998, 108–110.

<sup>152</sup> Niccolò of Otranto, a bilingual Greek from southern Italy, was the official translator in the church union discussions in Constantinople in 1205–07, and again in 1214. Under the name of Nectarius he became the abbot of the monastery of S. Niccolò di Casole 1220–35, and the many Byzantine books which he brought back to Italy became part of the monastic library. This monastery remained an important center for the diffusion of Greek culture in southern Italy for centuries, until its destruction by the Turks in 1480 (SETTON 1959, 14f. and 32f.).

<sup>153</sup> VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 40–46.

<sup>154</sup> The opposite case, that the author/scribe of *Par. gr.* 2419 could have tidied up the arrangement secondarily, seems less plausible. Even though some of the Arabic names can be shown to be corruptions of precisely those astronomic notions which present themselves in the Paris manuscript, a translator from Arabic to Greek would hardly have recognized the source concepts—the gap is too wide for that. Cf. also van Binsbergen’s examples of possible textual distortions in the Arabic tradition due to orthographic similarities (VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 48). On the other hand, a Latin geomantic manuscript reminds us not to take too lightly the ability of educated scribes to “ameliorate” a text: to the text of *Br. Mus. Sloane* 3487 (15<sup>th</sup> c.) the scribe added that he had reduced it to an astronomic basis, “*Explicit aggregatorium sive compilatorium geomancie editum per Ro. Scriptoris ... quantum possibile est ad astronomiam redacta*” (cited from THORNDIKE 1934, vol. 4, 143). This Roland Scriptoris of Lisbon went about similarly with a chiromantic text, according to Thorndike: he associated the parts of the hands with the planets, explained how to examine the hands of a person to determine under what planet he or she was born, etc. (for details of manuscripts, see THORNDIKE, *loc. cit.*, n. 41). It may very well be that the case of *Par. gr.* 2419 is quite another than the one of Roland “astrologizing” his texts—I am just stressing that further investigations are needed to confirm van Binsbergen’s theory and eliminate other possibilities. On Roland Scriptoris’ geomancy, see also CHARMASSEN 1980, 177–193.

argues that the astrological orientation of geomancy emphasizes the seven planets (and not the twelve zodiacal signs), thus only needing seven or eight different configurations instead of sixteen: this is conveniently met in the geomantic figures consisting of only three rows of dots, just as we have them in the *Harleianus* manuscript. The less economic variant, with four rows of dots per figure, must link two signs to each planet (just as in the table on f. 285<sup>v</sup> in *Gr* 8).<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, a connection between the geomancy put forward in *Harleianus* 5596 and the *Pa Kua*, the eight trigrams which form the basis of ancient Chinese cosmology and divination, does not seem unrealistic, though, as van Binsbergen states, this is highly hypothetical at present.<sup>156</sup>

### Not a poor man's astrology

As mentioned above, geomancy has been called a “poor man's astrology.”<sup>157</sup> This may be correct for more recent uses of the art, but in Byzantium and in the medieval West it definitely stayed an advanced intellectual pursuit in the upper strata of society, among sovereigns, doctors, and ecclesiastics. In these areas it would be more suitable to call geomancy “the daughter of astrology,” as do some of the medieval treatises.<sup>158</sup> Thus, one should not be surprised to find in some manuscripts the note that the geomantic text was copied from an exemplar belonging to Patriarch Gennadios, i.e. George Scholarios.<sup>159</sup> The interest in occult sciences was certainly not absent in ecclesiastical quarters. There are further examples: *Codex Scorialensis Y III 18* (early 16<sup>th</sup> century) brings together texts on Greek alchemy and theological treatises relating to the discussion of the “*filioque*.” Cardinal Bessarion, high

<sup>155</sup> VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 50–54. For the Greek text of *Par. gr.* 2419, see DELATTE & DELATTE 1936, 591–658; the excerpt from *Cod. Harl.* 5596 (15<sup>th</sup> c.), ff. 3<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>v</sup>, was edited by Armand Delatte (DELATTE 1927, 392–396). To render the planets a more important place than the zodiacal signs was typical of Greco-Roman astrology in its earlier stages (BOUCHÉ-LECLERCQ 1879, I, 225f.).

<sup>156</sup> VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 54. Representations of the Chinese trigrams are extant from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BCE, and the claim of contemporary Chinese geomancy is that the art descends from the Qin dynasty, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BCE (BRASWELL-MEANS 1990, 132f.). The *Pa Kua* are associated with elements, seasons, times of day, compass directions, animals, etc., but not with planets and astrological concepts, as far as I understand. To follow this East Asian geomantic trail goes far beyond my scope here, but it is worth emphasizing that there has been a considerable exchange of ideas between China and the West at many points in history, through India and Persia and along the Silk Road. As for astrology, China has its own three-thousand-year-long tradition of stargazing, but an import of Arabic astronomers/astrologers has also taken place, for instance during the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368); STEELE 2000, 161. Notwithstanding a possible connection of Eastern and Western geomantic trigrams and tetragrams, the astrological framework in the Arabic and Western geomantic texts is definitely Ptolemaic, not Eastern. Chinese astrology is, for example, polar- and equator-oriented rather than planetary and ecliptic (NEEDHAM 1974, 67).

<sup>157</sup> VAN BINSBERGEN 1996a, 13.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. several of the incipits in CHARMASSON 1980, 295–303.

<sup>159</sup> *Par. gr.* 2419, f. 241<sup>v</sup>: Ἐτέρα ἐκθεσις τοῦ ῥαμπλίου ἣν ἔλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου Γεναδίου πατριάρχου; *CCAG* 8:1, p. 53; the note is extant also in *Vat. Pal.* 312, f. 235 (15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> c.).

up in the Church hierarchies, is known to have had in his possession the earliest of the surviving Greek alchemical manuscripts, *Marcianus gr. 299*. The scribe Michael Apostoles, who also worked on commission from Bessarion, copied at least two codices containing geomantic treatises (*Cod. Laur.* 28, 22 and *Cod. Laur.* 86, 17). At the same time, geomancy does come forth as a somewhat “foreign” element in fifteenth-century Byzantium, at least if we are to judge from John Kananos’ account of the siege of Constantinople in 1422. After having ravaged the surrounding areas, Sultan Murad II was about to capture the city, but the Ottoman “patriarch” Mersaïtes (Amīr-seyyīd) told Murad to await his instructions on the right time for assaulting the walls. When the troops had gathered, this Mersaïtes “went into his tent [...] and began to peruse the books of Muhammad and perform the *ramplia*, putting on an act as he did this, in order to deceive the Turks into revering and honoring him as a prophet.”<sup>160</sup> Mersaïtes promised them an easy victory if they listened to his advice, and said that if the sultan and his troops advanced at the right moment, then the city walls would collapse automatically and they would unhindered seize the city. Eventually these schemes, which Mersaïtes had substantiated through oracles obtained from the “books of Muhammad” and “the *ramplia*,” came to nothing, since, according to John Kananos’ report, the Theotokos miraculously intervened and gave the victory to the Byzantines.

Looking at this episode, it is striking that Kananos seems to have taken his readers’ familiarity with “τὰ Ῥάμπλια” for granted: he sees no need to explain what was going on in Mersaïtes’ tent. Furthermore, geomantic divination is apparently something that a fifteenth-century imam could be expected to resort to.<sup>161</sup> Would it matter here that Mersaïtes is depicted as a Persian, speaking and singing hymns in “Persian dialect”? Further on in Kananos’ text Mersaïtes is reported to have said that wise men from Persia had calculated the right time (for capturing Constantinople) “through the power of the stars and the skills of astronomers.”<sup>162</sup> It is not clear whether this statement still points to geomancy or to astrology in a wider sense. John Kananos emphasizes that the Theotokos could counteract the astrologers’ prediction because her power did not come from earth (οὐκ ἀπὸ γῆς) or from people but from heaven and from an invisible force. To mention earth as a less powerful element could possibly be a hint at the geomancy used, but the

<sup>160</sup> John Kananos, *De Constantinopoli oppugnata* 248–252.

<sup>161</sup> One must, however, bear in mind that this particular “patriarch” is depicted as depraved; John Kananos describes him as well-born, εὐγενής, a descendant of Prophet Muhammad, but also as a callous person, ambitious, haughty, and violent, even as having abducted and raped a daughter of Murad II (*ibid.* 199–209).

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*, 530–535: Ἐλεγεν γὰρ Μηρσαΐτης καὶ πατριάρχης τῶν Τούρκων, ὅτι ἡ πόλις ἐπρόκειτο παρ’ ἡμῶν αἰχμαλωτισθῆναι, ὥς οἱ σοφοὶ τῆς Περσίας εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ Μωάμεθ ἐνηφοφόρησαν περὶ τοῦτου, καὶ εὗρον ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἔτος καὶ τὸν μῆνα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτης τῆς ὥρας ἡ πόλις παρ’ ἡμῶν πρόκειται κρατηθῆναι. Καὶ ἐμελλε τοῦτο γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν ἀστρονόμων.

whole argument of Kananos is that the Persian prophecy was valid and could be reverted only through the power of God. There is no patent disapproval in the text concerning the use of either astrology or geomancy; Mersaïtes' selfish and cruel scheming and his blasphemic utterances were probably more serious offenses in the eyes of John Kananos ("Blind Romans, where is your God now? Where is your Christ? Where are the saints who should help you?").<sup>163</sup>

All things considered, the reference to geomancy in John Kananos' narrative must not be given too much weight in a discussion of geomantic divination. It gives one person's perspective, and that in a text which is supposed to denigrate the enemy and eulogize the Byzantine victory as supported by the Virgin. Nevertheless, it is a contemporary observation and therefore interesting for the investigation of late and post-Palaiologan geomantic texts. To get a more solid comprehension of the place of geomancy in Byzantine culture one would certainly need to expand the investigation to a larger number of texts. If someone were to undertake that chore, my advice would be to take into account also the location of these texts in the books where they are found. With a firm grip on the codicological structure and the context of books, their place of origin, scribes, owners and readers, there is a good chance to learn more about the cultural background and importance of a phenomenon like geomancy. To link that kind of study to an inquiry into the Arabic and possibly Persian geomantic traditions would moreover give us the broader perspective, attainable through interdisciplinary collaboration.

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<sup>163</sup> Ibid., 271 ff.

## How to address the Pope (and a friend): Text 81

To learn a foreign language was no simple undertaking during the Middle Ages. The aids we take for granted, like lexica and grammars, were scarce.<sup>164</sup> Thus, in addition to more or less ample word lists, the key strategy was to use well-known texts and supply them with a word-for-word translation. More often than not psalms were used for this purpose, and this is what we find in *Gr 8*. One of the codicological units, U15, is devoted almost entirely to bilingual texts, the Latin version in a neat humanist hand and the Greek translation above each line a little more idiosyncratic in style—not that the Greek is carelessly written, but rather swiftly, the letters either stretched out or crammed together, with the aim of getting each word in the right place in relation to the Latin.

In addition to the Psalms and liturgical items (*Ave Maria*, *Pater Noster*, *Credo*), there is another bilingual text: a rudimentary letter manual or titulary collection, instructions on how to address public officials of various kinds as well as private persons. This reflects letter-writing not as a literary genre, but as a necessary aid in daily life.<sup>165</sup> Research on Hellenistic and Byzantine letter manuals has concentrated mainly on the more systematic ones which became associated with names like Demetrios of Phaleron, Libanios, and Proklos.<sup>166</sup> These were surveys of epistolary types with exemplary letters of different kinds attached. Extant in manuscripts from the tenth century and onwards, they saw their widest dissemination in the late Palaiologan and early Ottoman periods.<sup>167</sup> That this tradition of letter manuals continued also in the post-Byzantine era is evident from an analogous seventeenth-century

<sup>164</sup> The first Greek grammar to appear in print was Constantine Lascaris' *Græcæ Institutiones*, in 1476; three others, by Manuel Chrysoloras, Demetrios Chalkokandyles and Theodore Gazes, followed suite in the next twenty years (STEVENS 1950, 242). Being entirely in Greek, Lascaris' book was ill suited for beginners, who must have needed initial instruction from a Greek teacher. We may note, though, that just at the end of his book there is a Latin version of the Lord's prayer with an interlinear Greek translation: this prayer is presented among the bilingual texts in *Gr 8* as well. Lascaris includes among his reading selections the "*Psalmus quinquagesimus, cui principium, Miserere mei domine*"; this, too, is part of the Greek-Latin material in *Gr 8*. I am not suggesting a direct link between Lascaris' work and the texts in *Gr 8*, but rather pointing out the standard procedure and the conventional choice of texts, known to all, and therefore practical in language learning. Several early Greek printers produced "student versions" of texts, presenting the Greek text together with interlinear Latin. Paul Botley shows how fables, biblical, and liturgical texts, seem to have been the preferred choice for these language primary readers (BOTLEY 2002).

<sup>165</sup> In his introduction of Byzantine elementary schooling, Herbert Hunger mentions that letter openings are found among the practice texts in manuscripts: "Sehr häufig übte man (fiktive) Briefanfänge und Teile von Urkundentexten" (HUNGER 1989, 78). This pedagogical pattern may have influenced our scribe Theodoros to add the letter headings to his language exercises. It is fairly obvious, though, that the texts in *Gr 8* are in no way elementary: the end user of these pages was an adult rather than a school boy.

<sup>166</sup> Ps.-Demetrios, *Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί* and Ps.-Libanios/Ps.-Proklos, *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*. See, for example, RABE 1909; BRINKMANN 1909; SYKUTRIS 1928/29.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. the introduction to Weichert's edition (1910).

creation by Theophilos Korydalleus (ca. 1574–1646), *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων*, a work that was reprinted several times.<sup>168</sup>

Less attention has been given to the address and titulary books, which were more of an auxiliary for professional scribes and civil servants; only rarely have they been made accessible through an edition. In 1913, Giannino Ferrari edited some formulary texts taken from *Vaticanus graecus* 867, ff. 30–43. Among a large number of model documents concerning legal matters, there is one section of particular interest for us: §§ 21–36 present examples of how to address different dignitaries, sometimes with an outline on how to treat this or that question, sometimes also with a letter-ending formula.<sup>169</sup> The manuscript is dated to 1258–59, but a couple of details could point to an earlier date for the formulary, or at least for the letters serving as its models. In the address “from ruler to ruler” (§ 29), for example, the wording of the letter is: εἰς ἄρχοντας κομνην(ούς)· πανευγενέστατε κομνην(έ). In the address πρὸς δοῦκαν (§ 31), the name Komnenos is mentioned again. As the Komnenian dynasty held sway only until 1185, these entries ought not have been current during the Lascarid rule in the thirteenth century, at least not in Nicaea. The rulers of Trebizond, of whom many were related to the Komnenoi of Constantinople, most often referred to themselves with the phrase Megas Komnenos. Ferrari suggested that it is used as an honorific title, and this may well be the case.<sup>170</sup> On the other hand, the names may simply be details remaining from real letters, which the scribe chose to use as models for his formulary.

Another text of this kind, the so-called *Ekthesis Nea*, saw a fairly wide dissemination: Jean Darrouzès presents some twenty-five manuscripts, mainly from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>171</sup> The collection, which was originally compiled in 1386, was—as Darrouzès shows—soon thereafter subject to transpositions, additions, and other changes. Textual instability would come naturally with a text of this kind, but it is also a sign of its popularity and usefulness. A dilemma for the textual editor, this becomes part of its charm for the cultural historian: at least potentially, each text has the prospect of presenting a reflection of a certain time, of a historical, geographical, or social setting. In a couple of manuscripts there was an addition made in the form of an address to a ὑποψήφιος, a bishop elect; in one a *pit-*

<sup>168</sup> The *Περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων* was first published in London 1625 by Nicodemus Metaxas (printer William Stansby); cf. ROBERTS 1967, 16f. and 40f. On a text in *Cod. Vat. Barb. gr. 71.3* possibly being the model for Korydalleus' work, see RABE 1909, 288.

<sup>169</sup> FERRARI 1913, 57–62.

<sup>170</sup> FERRARI 1913, 126. One example of how the expression ὁ Κομνηνὸς βασιλεὺς can point to someone outside of the Komnenian family is the reference to Emperor Andronikos Gidos in John Lazaropoulos' *Synopsis* (BHG 612–613); see the commentary on *Lazaropoulos' Synopsis* line 1206, ROSENQVIST 1996, 439; MACRIDES 1979.

<sup>171</sup> The *Ekthesis Nea* has seen other editions, prior to Darrouzès', though based on just one or a few manuscripts. One of these editions is accessible in *PG* 107 398–418; cf. DARROUZÈS 1969, 5, n. 2.

*takion* was directed to the *voivode* Stefan and his wife Maria; in another manuscript a model letter from Niccolò Gattilusio to the emperor Alexios of Trebizond was recorded (and also criticized in a marginal note, because Gattilusio actually died before Alexios IV began his reign, and “how could the redactor be so ignorant, so as not to know this”).<sup>172</sup>

What information does a text like *Ekthesis Nea* provide? We can, for example, learn “how the Patriarch of Constantinople nowadays writes to the Pope” and to other ecclesiastical and political officials (“Εκθεσις νέα, ὅπως νῦν γράφει ὁ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πατριάρχης τῷ πάπᾳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πατριάρχαις καὶ ἀρχιεπισκόποις, καὶ μὴν τοῖς καὶ μητροπολίταις, καὶ τοῖς κοσμικὰς ἀρχὰς διϊθύνουσιν). From the wording *ἐκθεσις νέα – ὅπως νῦν*, in the headline cited, it appears that the compiler reworked an earlier formula; thus there is not only textual instability *after* 1386, but the compilation *Ekthesis Nea* is itself an adjusted version. The element of practical usefulness of these collections is imperative: since titular etiquette and bureaucratic order changed in the course of time, the chancery manuals had to be up to date. This ongoing process of adaptation is clear from other, even more modified versions of the work than the ones Darrouzès used for his edition. Shortened or expanded, with new offices and names added, they sometimes give the impression of not being chancery manuals anymore, but an aid for anyone who would need to contact authorities, teachers, or even friends and family.<sup>173</sup> Darrouzès refers to a couple of such *recensions nouvelles*, more or less remote, or even independent, versions of address collections, in *Vaticanus* 573 and *Sinaiticus* 1609.<sup>174</sup> Hugo Rabe mentioned yet a few manuscripts, like *Oxford Bodleian misc.* 242, *Neapolitanus Borb. III.B.27*, and *Escorialensis Ψ.IV.1*.<sup>175</sup> The latter manuscript is of particular interest to us,

<sup>172</sup> See DARROUZÈS 1969, § 79, *app. crit.* Alexios IV of Trebizond was actually co-emperor (δεσπότης) already in 1395, so the letter may still be a “credible” model even though he did not become sole emperor until 1417.

<sup>173</sup> The basic form of the *Ekthesis Nea* is transmitted in prints from the 18<sup>th</sup> c. onwards under the name of *Νέον ἐπιστολάριον* (RABE 1908, 286). The third part of this epistolary starts with: Ἐτέρα ἐκθεσις τίτλων κατὰ τὸν Κουροπαλάτην Κωδινόν ὅπως γράφει ὁ Κρόλεως πατριάρχης, κτλ. The reference to Kodinos is extant in a couple of manuscripts as well, one of them in Darmarios’ hand. Jean Verpeaux accused Darmarios of having planted this information, perhaps to make it sell better with an author’s name attached (VERPEAUX 1976, 63–65). Though not out of character for Darmarios, in this instance it is more likely that he actually used a model manuscript related to the *Hierosolymitanus Metochion S. Sepulcri* 46, where *Ekthesis Nea* precedes some episcopal acts and the *Treatise of Dignities and Offices* by Pseudo-Kodinos; Darmarios may have seen the three works as one combined text. Cf. DARROUZÈS 1969, 6.

<sup>174</sup> Darrouzès explicitly shows how the redactor of *Vat. gr.* 573 rearranged the material of *Ekthesis Nea* because it had become anachronistic and not attuned to the reality of his own era, the early 15<sup>th</sup> c. (1969, 23f.). Conversely, this implies that there were scribes who chose *not* to adjust the material, whether because of mere mechanical copying or because they preferred to freeze a moment in time when the empire still stood intact, when the administration had not yet been handed over to another ruler.

<sup>175</sup> RABE 1909, 285f.



since the formulas in that text differ only slightly from the ones in *Gr 8*, apart from the fact that no Latin version was included there. Variant readings from *Escorialensis Ψ.IV.1* (siglum E) are indicated in the critical apparatus to Text 81, and a brief discussion of the manuscript and its relation to *Gr 8* is given in the “Addendum,” at the end of this chapter.

An intriguing aspect of formularies like these is that, besides giving information on the usage of titles and courtesy phrases at a certain time, they occasionally indicate the persons for whom or the circumstances in which the formulas were—or could have been—used. By combining names, initials of names, places or certain offices as far as these have left traces in the particular text or copy, this may also help us figure out a date for the composition of the manual, or of a specific version of it.<sup>176</sup> This is what we will venture to do with Text 81. The listing begins with religious dignitaries, ranging from pope to monk. Subsequently civil offices follow, from king to learned nobles, and at the end a few entries are given on how to greet a friend. In some cases the formula includes a name, in others just an initial, and in yet others there are no clues whatsoever. Likewise, not all of the persons mentioned have made an imprint on posterity: we will never know who the “beloved son Antonius” is, unless we find out who actually compiled the formulary. I have chosen to present Text 81 the way it is written in the manuscript: the Greek above the Latin text. Subsequently, I will discuss the information it contains and its implications for our assessment of the text in relation to *Gr 8* as a whole book.

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<sup>176</sup> For the use of existing persons or correspondences in designing a guide to letter-writing, cf. ÖBERG 1997, 12–19.

Text 81 (ff. 320<sup>r</sup>–323<sup>v</sup>)

- 1 τῷ πάπα  
Papae  
τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ αὐθέντῃ ἡμῶν τῷ πάπα  
Sanctissimo ac beatissimo domino nostro papae
- 5 καρδινάλῃ  
Cardinali  
τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ κυρίῳ τίτλου τῆς ἁγίας  
Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino B. tituli sanctae  
Σαβίνης ἐπισκόπῳ καρδινάλῃ αὐθέντῃ ἐμῷ ἐξοχωτάτῳ ἢ ἐπικεισεστάτῳ  
10 Sabinae episcopo cardinali domino meo
- τῷ αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ κυρίῳ B. ἐπισκόπῳ  
Reverendissimo in Christo patri et domino domino B. episcopo  
καρδινάλιῳ Θουσκουλανῷ αὐθέντῃ ἐμῷ ἐπικεισεστάτῳ  
Cardinali Thusculano domino meo singulari
- 15 ἐπισκόπῳ  
Episcopo  
τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῃ κυρίῳ Παπίας ἐπισκόπῳ  
Reverendo in Christo patri et domino domino P. papiensi episcopo  
αὐθέντῃ ἐμῷ ἐπικεισεστάτῳ  
20 domino meo singulari
- ἡγουμένῳ  
Abbati  
τῷ αἰδεσίμῳ ἐν Χριστῷ πατρὶ κυρίῳ Ἀθανασίῳ καθηγουμένῳ τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίας  
Reverendo in Christo patri domino Athanasio abbati Sanctae Mariae  
25 τῶν Πατέρων πατρὶ τιμιωτάτῳ  
de Patiro patri colendissimo

1 τῷ πάπα] τοῦ μὲν ο δούλος τῆς ἁγίας βασιλείας σου δεσποτα μου ἅγιε δουλοικὸς ἀναφέρω E  
3 *supra* αὐθέντῃ *add.* δεσπότῃ *supra* *lin.* U ἡμῶν τῷ] ἡμῶν E 5 καρδινάλῃ *deest* E  
7 τίτλου] τέτλου E 9 ἢ] καὶ E 17 αἰδεσίμῳ] αἰδεσιμωτάτῳ E 23 αἰδεσίμῳ] ἐδεσιμωτάτῳ E  
25 Πατέρων *deest* E πατρὶ τιμιωτάτῳ *quasi titulum textus sequentis transposuit* E

ἱερεῦσι καὶ κανονικοῖς

Sacerdoti canonico

τῷ εὐλαβεστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Δημητρίῳ κανονικῷ τῆς Ἁγίας Μαρίας τῆς Μείζονος

30 Venerabili viro domino Demetrio canonico Sanctae Mariae Maioris

πατρὶ αἰδεσίμῳ

patri venerando

μοναχῷ

Monacho

35 τῷ ὁσίῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Μάρκῳ τάξεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Βενεδείκτου ἐν τῷ Κασσίνῳ

Religioso viro domino Marco ordinis Sancti Benedicti in Monte

Ὁρει πατρὶ τῶν τιμίων

Cassino patri observando

βασιλεῖ

40 Regi

τῇ ἱερᾷ βασιλικῇ μεγαλειότητι Ἀραγόνων καὶ ἑκατέρας Σικελίας καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς

Sacrae regiae Maiestati Aragonum utriusque Siciliae et cetera

πρίγκιπι

Principi

45 τῷ περιφανεστάτῳ αὐθέντῃ κυρίῳ Ταράντου πρίγκιπι καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς αὐθέντῃ

Illustrissimo domino domino M. Tarenti principi et cetera, domino

ἐμῷ ἐπικεστάτῳ

meo singulari

δουκί

50 Duci

τῷ περιφανεστάτῳ αὐθέντῃ κυρίῳ Σαβαουδίας δουκὶ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς αὐθέντῃ

Illustrissimo domino domino G. Sabaudiae duci et cetera domino

ἐμῷ ἐπικεστάτῳ

meo singulari

27 ἱερεῦσι καὶ κανονικοῖς *post* εὐλαβεστάτῳ E 29 Μαρίας *deest* E 33 *ante* μοναχῷ *scripsit* τῷ ὁσίῳ *sed delevit* E 35 Κασσίνῳ Ὁρει] Κασσινόρει 39 *supra* βασιλεῖ *scripsit* πρίγκιπι *sed delevit* U 40 *supra* Regi *scripsit* Principi *sed delevit* U 41 μεγαλειότητι] μεγαλειοτάτῃ E

55

μαρχίωνι  
Marchioni

τῷ περιφανεῖ καὶ ὑψηλῷ αὐθέντῃ κυρίῳ Λεωνέλλῳ μαρχίωνι Ἐστένσου αὐθέντῃ  
Illustri et excelso domino domino Leonello marchioni Estensi domino  
ἐμῷ ἐπιεικεστάτῳ

60 meo singulari

κόμιτι  
Comiti

τῷ ὑψηλωτάτῳ αὐθέντῃ κυρίῳ Φούνδων κόμιτι αὐθέντῃ ἐμῷ  
Excellentissimo domino domino H. Fundorum comiti domino meo

65 ἐπιεικεστάτῳ  
singulari

στράτορι καὶ βαρόνῳ  
Militi et barono

τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ καὶ περιφανεῖ κυρίῳ τῶν ἐκ Λουζι...ίας στράτορι

70 Magnifico et excellenti domino Sansoneto de Lusi... militi

νομοδιδασκάλῳ  
Jurisconsulto

τῷ περιβλέπτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ νομοδιδασκάλῳ κυρίῳ Ἀντονίῳ τῶν ἐκ Παταβίου  
Spectabili et eximio legum doctore domino Antonio de Padua

75

ἐπιστήμονι  
Artium doctore

τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ τεχνῶν καὶ ἱατρικῆς διδασκάλῳ κυρίῳ τῶν ἐκ Περουσίας  
Eximio artium et medicinae doctore domino Matheo Perusino

80

ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ λογίῳ  
Homini docto et eloquenti

τῷ σοφωτάτῳ καὶ λογιωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ  
Doctissimo et eloquentissimo viro domino Joanni Aurispae

57 ὑψηλῷ] ὑψηλωτάτῳ E αὐθέντῃ *deest* E Λεωνέλλῳ μαρχίωνι Ἐστένσου] Λεωνήλῳ  
μαρχίωνι (*sic*) Ἐστένσι E 61 κόμιτι] κόμη E 63 Φούνδων] τηδῶν E κόμιτι αὐθέντῃ] κόμη  
καὶ αὐθέντῃ E 67 βαρόνῳ] βαρόνι E 69 Λουζι...ίας] Λουκίας E στράτορι *ante* κυρίῳ  
*transposuit* E 77 Περουσίας] Περιουσίας E 79 ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ λογίῳ *quasi partem textus*  
*prioris transposuit* E 81 λογιωτάτῳ] ἰγιωτάτῳ E

εὐγενεῖ καὶ πλουσίῳ  
Nobili et diviti

85 τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεῖ καὶ εὐγενεῖ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Παύλῳ Σαβέλλῳ  
Magnifico et nobili viro domino Paulo Sabello

τῷ φρονιμωτάτῳ καὶ φιланθρωποτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Πέτρῳ φίλῳ ἀρίστῳ  
Prudentissimo et humanissimo viro domino Petro amico singulari  
τῷ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ καὶ εὐπαιδευτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ Ἀντωνίῳ φίλῳ ποθεινοτάτῳ  
90 Perhumano et eruditissimo viro domino Antonio amico carissimo

τῷ μετριωτάτῳ καὶ φρονιμωτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ  
Modestissimo et prudentissimo viro domino

τῷ ἀνδρικοτάτῳ καὶ γενναιοτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ  
Strenuo et generoso viro domino

95 τῷ εὐγενεῖ καὶ λαμπροτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ  
Nobili et praeclaro viro domino

τῷ ποθεινοτάτῳ μοι ἀδελφῷ κυρίῳ  
Carissimo fratri domino

τῷ ἡγαπημένῳ μοι υἱῷ Ἀντωνίῳ  
100 Carissimo filio Antonio

τῷ ἀγαπητῷ καὶ ποθεινῷ μοι υἱῷ  
Dilecto et caro filio

Τῷ εὐσχήμονι καὶ ἐπικεῖ ἀνδρί  
Honesto et bono viro

105 τῷ εὐγενεῖ καὶ ἐντίμῳ ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ  
Nobili et honorato viro domino

83 πλουσίῳ] πλούτῳ E 85 Παύλῳ Σαβέλλῳ] Δαύλῳ Σαβέλῳ E 87 ἀρίστῳ] ἀρίστῳ τῷ E  
89 εὐπαιδευτάτῳ] εὐπαιδευτοτάτῳ E 97 μοι ἀδελφῷ] ἀνδρὶ E 99 ex ἀγαπητῷ in ἡγαπημένῳ  
correxit U μοι υἱῷ Ἀντωνίῳ] καὶ ποθεινῷ μοι υἱῷ κυρίῳ E 101 lin. deest E 103 εὐσχήμονι]  
εὐχήμονι U lin. deest E 105 post lin. 105 in E sequitur initium novae epistulae, vide p. 262.

## Ecclesiastical offices

The office of cardinal is given two entries in our formulary, both of which undoubtedly point to *Cardinal Bessarion of Trebizond* (1403–1472). Bessarion, bishop of Nicaea at the time, played a leading role as proponent of a church union at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. After the Council, Pope Eugenius IV wanted him to continue as a mediator between the Byzantine and the Roman churches, and to that end ordained him cardinal in December 1439. Bessarion was appointed *Episcopus Cardinalis Sabinensis* by Pope Nicholas V, in March 1449, and a few weeks later was transferred to the diocese of Tusculum. In the early fifteenth century, Enrico Minutolo was the bishop of the corresponding sees,<sup>177</sup> and according to Ferdinando Ughelli, there was yet another fifteenth-century bishop who held the same two chairs: Latino Orsini.<sup>178</sup> Nevertheless, in Text 81 the initial “B.” decides the issue to Bessarion’s advantage. Bessarion’s distinction in the circle of humanist scholars at Mistra in the 1430s and in Italy later on, his involvement in the Church Council, and his undisputed importance for supporting Greek immigrant intellectuals, would furthermore make him the most probable cardinal to appear in a Latin-Greek titular collection.

The bishop of Pavia, whose name starts with the letter “P,” may refer to *Petrus Grassius de Castro Novo*, who held the episcopal chair from 1402 until his death in 1426. The wording of our text can be compared to his epitaphium in the sacellum of Saint Martha, which begins in the following way:

Hic iacet Reverend. in Christo Pater, & Dominus D. Petrus de Grassis, de Castro Novo, Dei & Apostolicae Sedis gratia Episcopus Papiensis, et Comes, qui obiit anno Domini...<sup>179</sup>

Another possibility would be his successor, Francesco Pizolpasso (bishop of Pavia 1427–1435), who is better known as the archbishop of Milan.<sup>180</sup> The normal rendering of the title would be with a person’s first name, in this case “Dominus F.” Could the scribe writing “P” have been influenced by the subsequent P in *Papiensis*, a slip further facilitated by the fact that Francesco’s second name started with P? Or could the *phi* in a Greek model manuscript

<sup>177</sup> Cardinal Enrico Minutolo held the see of Tusculum/Frascati 1403–1409 and the see of Sabina 1409–1417 (GAMS 1873, xx and xiv).

<sup>178</sup> Cf. UGHELLI 1644, 208 and 210. Ughelli’s years of nomination for Latino Orsini are 1468 and 1472 (in Gams, the latter date is 1473). Eubel, on the other hand, does not bear out Latino Orsini’s presence as Bishop of Sabina, mentioning only Tusculum (EUBEL 1914, 11). *Giordano* Orsini—member of the same family of Roman nobles—did hold the Sabinian chair prior to Bessarion (1431–1439), but he was never bishop of Tusculum. What seems clear is that in 1465 Latino Orsini was nominated bishop of the suburbicarian diocese of Albano, in 1468 he became bishop of Tusculum, and in 1472 archbishop of Taranto (GAMS 1873, 856).

<sup>179</sup> Cf. UGHELLI 1644, 37\*. In Ughelli’s text a comma was put in the wrong place: “*de Castro Novo Dei, & Apostolicae Sedis.*”

<sup>180</sup> See GAMS 1886, 801 (Piccopasio, bishop of Pavia) and 796 (Picolpasso, bishop of Milan).

(“κυρίῳ Φ. Παπίας ἐπισκόπῳ”) have become reproduced as a “P.” in a Latin apograph? Palaeographic hypotheses set aside, what certainly points to the advantage of Pizolpasso (compared to his predecessor Petrus) is that he would have been much more renowned among the Greek émigrés than his predecessor Petrus. Pizolpasso took part in the Council of Basel from 1432 to 1439, and belonged to the circle of humanists who devoted themselves to the study of Latin and Greek literature. In a letter to Nicholas of Cusa, Pizolpasso writes about the Council of Basel, hoping that their work might bring permanent unity and peace in the church.<sup>181</sup> Pizolpasso was the patron of Pier Candido Decembrio, who translated Plato’s *Republic* and took part in the ongoing discussion on Plato and Aristotle, polemicizing against Leonardo Bruni, among others.<sup>182</sup> Among Pizolpasso’s correspondents are several of the leading cultural personalities during the 1430s–40s: Giovanni Aurispa—dealer in Byzantine manuscripts, Leonardo Bruni and Ambrogio Traversari—both leading Italian Hellenists, Enea Silvio Piccolomini—later to become Pope Pius II, Lorenzo Valla—skilled latinist and translator of Greek texts, Bessarion—bibliophile and patron of many Byzantine émigré scholars, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester—he, too, a benefactor of several Italian humanists.<sup>183</sup>

The Greek monastery of Sancta Maria del Patire (or Patirion), situated close to the city of Rossano in Calabria, was founded in the early twelfth century through the efforts of Saint Bartholomew of Simeri and Norman donations.<sup>184</sup> The abbot mentioned in Text 81 would point to *Athanasios Chalkeopylos*, who was archimandrite of Patirion 1448–1457.<sup>185</sup> Originally from Constantinople, he entered the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos and came to Italy probably accompanying his superior, Dorotheos of Vatopedi, who was to take part in the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> BOND 1996, 145. Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464) was sent to Constantinople as the pope’s ambassador in 1437 to negotiate the reunification of the churches. His friendship with Pizolpasso “found nourishment in their mutual preoccupation with theological and philosophical problems, but most of all, so it seems, in their love of books” (BIECHLER 1975, 16).

<sup>182</sup> GARNSEY 2007, 44f.

<sup>183</sup> On Pizolpasso’s time in Pavia, Basel and Milan and his contact with the humanist movement, see PAREDI 1961, 25–65. Portions of Pizolpasso’s correspondence are found in PAREDI 1961, 193–237; FUBINI 1966, 354–370; and SOTTILI 1966, 56–63.

<sup>184</sup> The “del Patire” (del padre, τοῦ πατρός) derives from the founder, Bartholomew, “father” of the monastery (cf. BHG 235). The “Norman” who promoted the monastery was Christodoulos, an admiral of Greek descent who held a distinguished position at the Norman court of Sicily (he was also conferred the honorary title of *protonobelissimos* by Emperor Alexios I). Cf. BATIFFOL 1891, 4f.; VON FALKENHAUSEN 1985.

<sup>185</sup> In BATIFFOL 1891, 7, the author mentions an icon, now belonging to the Church of S. Pietro in Corigliano, which was commissioned by Athanasios. On the lower part of the frame it has the following inscription: Ἀθανάσιος Φιλίππου Χαλκεόπουλος ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῇ μητρὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ σωτηρίας τῶν προσερχομένων χάριν.

<sup>186</sup> According to Joseph Gill, the monk Athanasios was ordered by the Emperor to collect appropriate codices at Athos and bring them back to the Council as support for the Greek position in theological controversies (GILL 1959, 76).

Athanasios made the acquaintance of Bessarion and is mentioned in the latter's correspondence with Michael Apostoles. That he copied manuscripts on behalf of Bessarion is attested, likewise his activity as a translator of Greek texts into Latin.<sup>187</sup> It was Bessarion who appointed Chalkeopylos archimandrite of Patirion. In 1458 Pope Pius II made him abbot of the Cistercian monastery of S. Maria dell' Arco in Syracuse, and a few years later he became bishop of Gerace (1461–1497), the last Greek to hold that office. Athanasios Chalkeopylos died in 1497.<sup>188</sup>

The two subsequent entries in Text 81, concerning a priest and a monk, both mention persons by name. The most famous church with the epithet "Sancta Maria Maior" is the Santa Maria Maggiore at the Piazza dell' Esquilino in Rome. The sacerdotal records of this church may possibly give us further information on pater Demetrius, but I have not pressed the issue any further. Neither have I found sources which could help me to identify Marcus, monk at the monastery of Montecassino. Cassino is situated midway between Rome and Naples, and was once on the border between Latin and Greek Italy. Though officially a Benedictine foundation, the monastery was at times also associated with Greek monasticism. The Byzantine emperor was the protector of the monastery from the late ninth century onwards. In the tenth century, Neilos of Rossano lived in a metochion of Montecassino together with a large number of disciples.<sup>189</sup> There were also Benedictine monks from Montecassino who decided to migrate to Mount Athos and Mount Sinai. That Montecassino became the melting-pot for different cultural influxes can be seen in its art, its architectural decoration, and its scribal production. For example, the influence of Byzantine artistry can be traced in the illuminated manuscripts deriving from the Montecassino scriptorium.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> On Chalkeopylos' scribal activity, cf. *Repertorium* II, 7 with further literature. The *Cod. Ravenn. Bibl. Class. 210*, which he probably copied for Bessarion, contains Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Eudemian Ethics*, and some poems from the *Planudean Anthology*. His translations of two homilies of Basil the Great and of Lucian's *De saltatione* are extant (the latter work, in *Cod. Par. gr. 3013*, is dedicated to Antonello Petrucci, secretary of King Ferdinand of Sicily; in *Repertorium* II, 7 it is pointed out that the scribe of the Paris manuscript is not Athanasios but John Chalkeopylos, but the translation and dedication would still be Athanasios' own. The dedicatory text is reproduced in LAURENT & GUILLLOU 1960, 228–231). See further MANOUSSACAS 1973.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. GAMS 1873, 883; EUBEL 1914, 159.

<sup>189</sup> Subsequently, Neilos (cf. BHG 1370) founded his own monastery, the Basilian abbey of Grottaferrata which became renowned for its scriptorium. On the relations between Montecassino and Byzantium, see BLOCH 1986.

<sup>190</sup> On the illuminative art, see TOUBERT 1971; BELTING 1974. Francis Newton, in his impressive treatment of the Montecassino scriptorium and library, makes no mention of Byzantine influence (NEWTON 1999).



## Secular offices

Among the secular offices the prime one is the king or βασιλεύς. This is also the first one mentioned in Text 81, more specifically, the king “of Aragon and the two Sicilies.” The background of this title reaches back to the revolt called the *Sicilian Vespers*. In the war that followed, Peter III of Aragon made common cause with Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos against Charles I of Anjou, and in the peace of 1302 the Norman kingdom of Sicily was divided into two.<sup>191</sup> The island of Sicily came under Aragonese rule while the mainland of Southern Italy remained under the Angevins. This situation lasted until 1442, when Alfonso V of Aragon defeated René of Anjou and proclaimed himself *Rex Sicilie citra et ultra farum*.<sup>192</sup> After Alfonso’s death in 1458, the supremacy was divided between his son, Ferdinand I, king of Naples,<sup>193</sup> and the younger brother of Alfonso, Giovanni II, king of Aragon and Sicily. The two Sicilies were united once more in 1503, and stayed so more or less continuously until 1860. Alfonso V was one of the few Western leaders who advocated a counter-attack on the Turks on behalf of the collapsing Byzantine empire (even if his main interest in this was the Catalan trade in the Levant). His military involvement in Albania did encourage other Balkan princes to turn to him in the hope of refuge and aid, among them Thomas Palaiologos of the Morea. Alfonso took a great interest in cultural matters. Though he never learnt Greek himself, he prized Lorenzo Valla’s translations of Greek literature, and many other Italian humanists dedicated their translations to him (Leonardo Bruni, Poggio Bracciolini, and Pier Candido Decembrio were among these). Even more important for the assessment of Text 81 is the fact that, as a result of Alfonso’s contacts with the activities of Italian humanists, he warmly welcomed and offered payment to any Greek scholar who chose to settle in Naples. Thus, Gregory Tiphernas, George Trapezuntios of Crete, and Theodore Gazes were among those who benefitted from Alfonso’s ambitions as a “Renaissance king.”<sup>194</sup>

Under the office of *princeps* we find the prince of Taranto together with the initial “M.” This is an odd combination: there was no such person in the

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<sup>191</sup> On Michael VIII Palaiologos’ role in the uprising against the Angevins, see his “autobiography” (ed. GRÉGOIRE 1959). The emperor’s description of his life and deeds is part of a *typikon* for the convent of St. Demetrios in Constantinople (GRUNEBaum 1964, 97). On the Sicilian Vespers, see also GEANAKOPOLOS 1959, 335–367.

<sup>192</sup> Alfonso’s royal claim to Naples was recognized by Pope Eugenius IV in 1443. The reason why the Kingdom of Naples continued to be called another “Sicily,” derives from its historical origin as part of the Norman conquest of Sicily. The lighthouse—*Farum*—at the straits of Messina marked the border between the two Sicilies. The alternative formula which we find in Text 81, *Rex utriusque Siciliae*, was also employed for titulating Alfonso V, and appears in the record of the parliament as early as 1443 (RYDER 1976, 32).

<sup>193</sup> Note that Alfonso’s son Ferdinand (Ferrante) I of Naples and Jerusalem is not the same person as Ferdinand of Sicily (later also named Ferdinand II of Aragon and, after 1504, Ferdinand III of Naples), who was mentioned in n. 187, above. The two kings were first cousins.

<sup>194</sup> On Alfonso’s contacts with the humanist movement and his ambitions to create a library and center of scholarship at Naples, see RYDER 1990, 313–335.

fifteenth century or in the time nearby. It is of course easy to imagine that a single letter could have been misread or mistaken, especially by copying.<sup>195</sup> If we look at which princes could come into consideration, the first to bear the title in the fifteenth century was Raimondo Del Balzo Orsini, who shouldered the principate in 1399. He died in 1406. Ladislao d'Angio Durazzo then laid siege to Taranto twice (in 1406 and 1407), but, unable to defeat the widow of Raimondo, Maria d'Enghien, he decided to marry her instead, and so attained the title aimed at. After Ladislao's death in 1414, the principate came into the hands of his sister, Giovanna II of Naples, but she chose to pass it on to her sister-in-law and the latter's children. This way a Del Balzo Orsini once again came to be in charge of the principate, viz., the first-born son of Raimondo Del Balzo Orsini and Maria d'Enghien, Giovannantonio Del Balzo Orsini. In 1435 Giovannantonio was imprisoned together with Alfonso of Aragon, and they were taken to Milan by Filippo Maria Visconti. The imprisonment and their joint interests bound the prince and the Aragonese together, and after the latter had been made king of Naples they had a mutually beneficial relation for many years.<sup>196</sup> Ferdinand I of Naples, who succeeded his father to the throne in 1458, did not have the same generous attitude towards the prince, and withdrew the privileges in 1463. If—with the aid of the information furnished above—one should have a guess at the prince referred to in the address of Text 81, the natural choice would be Giovannantonio Del Balzo Orsini, prince of Taranto 1414–1465, based on his time of reign and also his connections to Alfonso. With this solution in mind, we may return to the initial problem with this address, i.e. why someone would put in a prince's name starting with an “M” here. If the copyist's point of departure was the medieval Greek way of spelling the name Del Balzo, we would actually end up with an “M” in the Latin text.<sup>197</sup>

The initial preceding the title “Sabaudiae duci” in the manuscript presents a comparable problem. The initial looks like a “G,” but no duke during the fifteenth century bore a name starting with that letter. There are only two candidates for this address—if in fact it is supposed to point to a real duke of Savoy: Amadeo VIII or Ludovico I of Savoy. Amadeo VIII was the first to bear the title *duca* (Sigismund, king of Rome and later emperor, raised the former countship to ducal dignity in 1416). Successful in his reign as the leading prince and politician in Italia Subalpina, Amadeo VIII nevertheless decided in 1434 to retire from his secular commitments. He moved to Castello di Ripaglia at the Lake Geneva, where he founded the religious and chivalrous order of San Maurizio. In 1439 he was elected pope—i.e. anti-pope—by the Council of Basel, and took the papal name of Felix V. The Christian leadership in general, and the kingdoms of Europe, did not look

<sup>195</sup> A similar case is notated in ÖBERG 1997, 17.

<sup>196</sup> PONTIERI 1935, 611.

<sup>197</sup> One may compare, for example, the spelling of De Bagi as τε Μπαγέ (PLP 19608).

upon this renewed division of the Church with approval. In fact, Amadeo VIII was supported only by his son, who was now the duke of Savoy, by some German potentates and universities, by the university of Cracow, and, for a period, by Alfonso of Aragon.<sup>198</sup> Only two cardinals were devoted to the antipope: Hugues-Lancelot de Lusignan and Louis Aleman. The former was connected to the house of Savoy through his sister Anne de Lusignan, princess of Cyprus and wife of Ludovico I of Savoy, i.e. the son of Amadeo/Pope Felix V. In 1449 the schism came to an end as Felix V laid down the Papal Tiara, and accepted the rank of “*cardinale del titolo di S. Sabina*.” He died at Geneva in 1451.

Ludovico I of Savoy succeeded his father as head of the duchy in 1434. Although not as prominent as his father, he did play a certain role in the political complications which followed upon the proclamation of Repubblica Ambrosiana (1447). Ludovico was—as was the marquis of Este—one of the many participants who wanted their share at the scramble which seemed to be at hand in Lombardy. When the people of Milan in their precarious situation searched for a solution, there were voices raised in favor of the duke of Savoy (as also of King Alfonso V) as a possible new leader of the duchy. Eventually, they unanimously advocated Francesco Sforza, who became the new duke of Milan in 1450. At the time of Ludovico’s death in 1465, the ducal title was passed on to his son, Amadeo IX.

Of the two dukes of Savoy we have been discussing here, the likeliest guess would be that the titular address in Text 81 refers to the latter, Ludovico I, considering the fact that he had taken over the title in 1434. Even though his father Amadeo continued to be influential after that date, we must bear in mind that he then went by the name of Felix V, and politically also acted in quite a different role than before. Ludovico’s marital connection to the kingdom of Cyprus is another detail which ought to have been of interest to a Greek scribe. One may add that, palaeographically, a carelessly slanted “Λ” may easily be mistaken for a “Τ” in the process of copying. The apograph would in that case reproduce a “G” in the Latin text, just as we have it in Text 81.

In the case of the marquis, we need not guess anymore: the scribe gave us the full name of Leonello d’Este, eminent marquis of Ferrara (1407–1450). Following a military education, Leonello became acquainted with humanist studies, which flourished in Ferrara thanks to Giovanni Aurispa in the 1420s and Guarino Guarini da Verona in the 1430s.<sup>199</sup> Under Guarino’s guidance he pursued studies in rhetoric, history and philosophy, and at the opening of the Council of Ferrara in 1438, it was Leonello d’Este who gave an elegant welcoming speech in Latin on behalf of Pope Eugenius IV. In political matters

<sup>198</sup> VALERI 1949, 476.

<sup>199</sup> For the section on Leonello d’Este, I rely mainly on BRUNELLI 1993. On Guarino’s role in educating the prince, see also PADE 1990.

Leonello held a fairly low profile and was renowned for his prudence and ability to keep Ferrara out of most armed conflicts—not an easy task in those decades in Italy, when alliances with various neighboring city states needed shifting now and again. During Leonello’s reign, which extended from 1441 until his death, he earned a grand reputation as “*principe saggio*.” The Court of Ferrara became a center of humanistic learning and cultural events through Leonello’s hospitality to scholars such as Giovanni Aurispa, Pier Candido Decembrio, and Theodore Gazes, as well as to poets, musicians and painters (among these Antonio Pisanello and Iacopo Bellini).<sup>200</sup> The *Biblioteca Estense* was another chief concern of Leonello’s. Leonello’s father, Niccolò III had begun this enterprise, buying books, ordering copies, and engaging the somewhat ruthless book trader Giovanni Aurispa at his court. Leonello continued to consolidate their holdings, and furthermore embraced the idea of creating a sort of public library, a lasting collection of all literature—Latin, Greek, and vernacular—for “the common use of learned men.”<sup>201</sup>

The city of Fondi is situated to the south of Rome, along the Via Appia, and not very far from Montecassino. To find a count of Fondi whose name starts with an H, we must go to Onorato (*Honoratus*) II Caetani d’Aragona, whose countship lasted for half a century (1441–1491).<sup>202</sup> The Aragonian branch of the Caetani family was particularly powerful in the time of Onorato II, who, besides filling the offices of logothete and protonotary, also was a close personal friend of Ferdinand I of Naples.<sup>203</sup> During his countship, Onorato II contributed to the construction of several churches at Fondi and furthermore to the beautiful palace where he kept a grandiose court.<sup>204</sup> As he was one of the richest and most influential magnates of the Kingdom of Naples, it is particularly interesting that an inventory of all his mobile and immobile possessions was taken down at the time of his death in 1491. This manuscript has recently been made accessible through the efforts of Sylvie Pollastri. According to the inventory, Onorato’s library seems to have contained, among other items, Aesop (“*un livre précieux*”), Aristotle’s *Ethics*,

<sup>200</sup> On the patronage of the Court of Ferrara, see further PADE, WAAGE PETERSEN & QUARTA 1990.

<sup>201</sup> CELENZA 2004, 52. On the *Biblioteca Estense*, see CAPPELLI 1889; GRAFTON 1997, 19–49.

<sup>202</sup> The other count of Fondi with the same name, Onorato I, was the grandfather of Onorato II. He died in 1400.

<sup>203</sup> Sicily and the southern parts of the Italian peninsula were substantially hellenized during several centuries and the Byzantine administrative system based on themes functioned also in this western outpost of the Byzantine state. This explains the protracted use of Byzantine administrative titles like logothete and protonotary, even at the time when Sicily had become a Norman (and later Aragonese) colony. The office which Onorato II held at the court of Naples may be compared to the chancellor’s.

<sup>204</sup> CAETANI 1930, 251.

Cicero's *Tusculans*, Plautus' comedies, *De bello Gothorum*, Valerius Maximus, books on warfare, grammars, and missals.<sup>205</sup>

Sansoneto, addressed in Text 81 as a magnificent and excellent soldier and baron, is so far an obscure figure. I will present two alternative solutions here, although they must both be seen as tentative at this stage. Sansoneto's second name, "de Lusi..." or in Greek "τῶν ἐκ Λουζι...ας" (neither entry is fully readable), may point to the house of Lusignan, the French noble family which included among its most memorable medieval conquests the crowns of Cyprus, Jerusalem, and Armenia. In the *PLP*, several ways of spelling "Lusignan" in Greek are recorded, but no entry includes a person named Sansoneto.<sup>206</sup> Perhaps we must at this time be content with the discovery of what could be yet a member of the Lusignan house, soldier and baron, but otherwise unknown.<sup>207</sup> Nevertheless, since it is somewhat astonishing to find a person belonging to such a well-known royal family not accounted for already, I would like to propose an alternative interpretation: this one involves a province in today's Albania, called Lushnja. Having been a part of the Despotate of Epiros, Lushnja came under Venetian authority in the fifteenth century. Soldiers of Albanian origin had at the end of the fourteenth or early fifteenth century settled in large numbers in Morea, summoned there by the Palaiologan Despot Theodore I to help impede the Ottoman expansion on the Peloponnese.<sup>208</sup> It is not impossible that a soldier and baron with a family background in Lushnja could be the man we are looking for here.<sup>209</sup> Towards the mid-fifteenth century, as the situation in Morea worsened, a considerable number of these Albanians settlers chose to emigrate once more, this time to Italy.<sup>210</sup> Many were employed as light cavalry forces, *stradioti*, by the Venetians in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, much appreciated for their style of fighting and tactics. Another characteristic which, ac-

<sup>205</sup> POLLASTRI 2006, xxiii.

<sup>206</sup> *PLP*, nos.15056–15087. The varieties in spelling are recorded in connection to no. 15059. The text offered by the *Escorialensis* *Ψ.IV.1.*, τῶν ἐκ Λουκίας, does not help us here.

<sup>207</sup> In the late 16<sup>th</sup> c., Steffano Lusignano di Cipro wrote a work on Cyprus, *Chorografia et breve historia universale dell' Isola de Cipro* (ed. PELOSI 2001). There is in Steffano's rendering of the House of Lusignan no mention of a baron Sansoneto de Lusignan. But he does have an enumeration of the other houses of Cyprus, which might be of interest (section 15): among them there is one Cypriot family with the name of Sanson. Could we suppose a connection here? The French baptismal name Sansonnet, since the late Middle Ages also known as the name for a bird, the starling, is the hypocoristic form of the biblical name Samson or Sanson (DAUZAT 1949, 126 and 217).

<sup>208</sup> According to Dionysios Zakythinos, some 10 000 men came together with their families and livestock (ZAKYTHINOS 1975, I, 131 and II, 31–36).

<sup>209</sup> That there is an island at the coastline of Southern Albania called Sazan (Σάσων; Ital. *Saseno*) does not make this less intriguing (though it may just be a coincidence of little significance, since the name Sansoneto is explainable anyway). On the island Sazan, see LAMPROS 1914.

<sup>210</sup> Not least they seem to have chosen Sicily and southern Italy as their new place of settlement, perhaps feeling more at home there due to their double identity as both Albanians and Morean Greeks (cf. ZAKYTHINOS 1975, II, 36).

cording to Nicholas Pappas, made these Greek-Albanian forces attractive to Italian leaders, was their preference of honors and privileges over pay: they were simply cheaper to hire than Western mercenaries. “The *stradioti* actually sought out favors in the form of parades and titles, and the frugal Venetian government was only too glad to oblige them.”<sup>211</sup> Maybe our Sansoneto, both a baron and an excellent soldier, is a good example of such an officer?

In the search for a Paduan jurisconsult, one may consult the minutes of examinations held at the University of Padua. The records from the years 1431–1450 testify of the presence of a certain Antonius de Padua on at least ten occasions, mostly at examinations in civil law and always in the duty of faculty beadle.<sup>212</sup> The earliest records designate him *magister*, later he is called *ser*. The term of office is either *bidellus iuristarum* or *bidellus generalis universitatis*. His by-name seems to have been Baptista, but usually he is merely called Antonius de Padua. Now, could this be the man mentioned in Text 81 as an admirable and distinguished law teacher? I doubt it: the presence of the beadle is mentioned in the minutes together with that of the *notarius curie et collegii*, thus indicating that this Antonius only performed an administrative or formal role at the examinations. Rather, I think we need to look at another Antonius, even though he is generally called Antonius de Rosellis or Antonius de Aretio, after his birth-town Arezzo. To call him Antonio de Padua in the titular address would be based on his long and well-known teaching activity at the University of Padua.<sup>213</sup> Perhaps a humorous hint at the local saint with the same name could have played a part too.<sup>214</sup> Antonio Roselli (1381–1466) started out with legal studies in Bologna 1406–7, lectured in Siena and Rome, and became the ambassador of Emperor Sigismund, of King Alfonso of Naples and of the Cardinals’ Collegium. In 1431 he went to Basel as the legate of Pope Eugenius IV; an outcome of Antonio’s commitment to this task was the treatise he wrote on the legal side of church councils, *De conciliis ac synodis generalibus*.<sup>215</sup> After he wrote his work *Monarchia sive de potestate imperatoris et pape*, the situation became increasingly difficult for him in Rome, and instead of an ecclesiastical career he took up a position in canon law at the University of Padua in 1438.<sup>216</sup> He

<sup>211</sup> See online-article by PAPPAS ([http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_ncp/Stradioti.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/Stradioti.html)).

<sup>212</sup> ZONTA & BROTTTO 1922; see index, s.vv. “Antonius de Padua” and “Antonius bidellus iurist.”

<sup>213</sup> See, for example, Johann Friedrich von Schulte who calls him a *monarcha juris* (SCHULTE 1875, I, 304).

<sup>214</sup> On Saint Anthony of Padua (ca. 1195–1231), see *AASS Junii II* (Dies 13), 703–780.

<sup>215</sup> On this treatise, see further WEITZ 2002.

<sup>216</sup> Word has it that Antonio Roselli during his time in Basel had been promised an appointment to cardinal, which the Pope later called off for reasons of Antonio having been married twice (ZEDLER 1742, vol. 32, 871–872). Antonio Roselli certainly had enough inside experience of the executive power to substantiate his suggestions to differentiate between imperial and papal authority, but his treatises may have had a bitter personal background as well: he expressly emphasizes the possibility of a pope making mistakes and the importance of a judi-

continued his teaching there well into his eighties—the last *consilia* that he undersigned show an old man's wobbly and barely legible signature.<sup>217</sup>

In the case of the *artium doctor* the specifications of the formulary are unambiguous. Matheus de Perusio is found in the very same Paduan university records and during the same period of time. In 1432 the "*licencia et publica in med. egr. arc. doct. mag.*" of Matheo (or Matheolo) Baldasari was approbated.<sup>218</sup> Later on, he was to become the most famous medicus from Perugia in the Quattrocento. His teaching career started off with medicine and philosophy in Perugia in 1427. In 1447 he became a lecturer at the faculty of medicine in Padua, the university where he came to spend most of his active years. He died and was buried in Padua in 1479.<sup>219</sup> One of his numerous disciples during these years, Hartmann Schedel, has left us a eulogy that is quite fascinating to read—it certainly shows that the superlatives in our titulary record are in no way an exaggeration compared to his posthumous reputation:

Matheolo of Perugia, the most learned among the physicians of our time, king among philosophers, and simply the most prominent in all liberal arts and every branch of science, my most erudite teacher. His were the lectures which I, Hartmann Schedel from Nuremberg, Paduan doctor, sat in on for three years, and from him [...] I received my doctorate in Padua.<sup>220</sup>

Matheolo from Perugia was renowned not only for his skills in medicine and philosophy, but also for his rhetorical talent. He gave several orations at the university, and seems to have had a wide-embracing interest in humanistic and scientific studies.<sup>221</sup> Later on in his eulogy, Hartmann Schedel especially mentions Matheolo's expertise in poetry, oratory, astronomy and music.<sup>222</sup> As for Hartmann himself, he went from Nuremberg to Padua to study medicine in the 1460s, just as his elder cousin Hermann had done before him. He

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cial system which endorses the deposing of a pope who shows misconduct in office. On Roselli's treatise *Monarchia*, see THOMSON 1975 and WEITZ 2002, 49–114.

<sup>217</sup> See BELLONI 1986, 143–149, who also includes information on manuscripts and editions of Antonio Roselli's works.

<sup>218</sup> ZONTA & BROTTI 1922, 206.

<sup>219</sup> VERRUA 1924, 88.

<sup>220</sup> *Matheolus Perusinus Medicus doctissimus hoc tempore medicorum, ac philosophorum monarcha, omniumque liberalium artium cunctarumque scientiarum facile princeps, preceptor meus eruditissimus. Quem ego Hartmannus Schedel Nurembergensis doctor Patavinus tribus annis ordinarie legentem auscultavi, a quo [...] doctoratus Padue accepi* (SCHEDEL 1493, cclii).

<sup>221</sup> On Matheolus' oratory, see SIRAISSI 2004, 193f., with further literature. For his commentary on the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, see KIBRE & SIRAISSI 1975. His treatise on mnemonics, *De Memoria*, was reprinted time and again from 1474 and onwards (KLEBS 1938, 222f.).

<sup>222</sup> Pietro Verrua (1924, 87–88) seems not to have distinguished between Hartmann Schedel and his cousin Hermann Schedel, who also studied in Padua. Thus, it was of course Hermann who became a laureate in medicine in 1442 (the younger cousin, Hartmann, was then only two years old).

attended the medical lectures of Matheolo Mathioli of Perugia as well as the Greek lectures of Demetrios Chalkokandyles,<sup>223</sup> and became one of the earliest Germans to know Greek. His Nuremberg Chronicle, *Liber Chronicarum*, printed by Anton Koberger in 1493, was the fruit of his extensive book collecting and compilation, and is famous for its more than 1 800 woodcuts created by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.<sup>224</sup>

On the subject of circulation of Greek books in Italy during the humanist era, one is bound to come across the name of Giovanni Aurispa. In Text 81, this *doctissimus et eloquentissimus vir* is mentioned in connection with the academic teachers of law and medicine, and right before the addresses to people merited with more general virtues: the rich and noble, the prudent, erudite, and benevolent. This appears to be on the mark, since Aurispa never held any official university post, but certainly was renowned as a dedicated book collector and humanist. He was born in Sicily in 1376 and spent his youth in Naples. Already in 1413, he brought with him to Italy some Greek manuscripts from a trip in the East (among other things a volume from Chios containing texts by Euripides and Sophocles).<sup>225</sup> But he collected the lion's share of his Greek books in Constantinople where he was sent by Gian Francesco Gonzaga in 1421. Aurispa was received at the Court of Emperor Manuel Palaiologos, and the emperor's son, John, decided to make Aurispa his "secretary." When John Palaiologos went on a diplomatic tour to the courts of Western Europe, Aurispa escorted him as far as Venice, Verona and Milan. The outcome of this séjour in Constantinople was that a shipload of far more than two hundred Greek books reached Italy's humanists, a vital contribution to fuel the early humanist movement and the study of Greek in the West.<sup>226</sup> Giovanni Aurispa's reputation as a teacher and scholar is less flattering, but he nevertheless spent three years teaching at the Florentine studio and became the personal tutor of Niccolò III d'Este's son Meliaduse.<sup>227</sup> At the court of Ferrara, he seems to have been content to settle down. Although Aurispa did go on several embassies for the Estensi and the papal Curia (one of these were to the Council of Basel, in 1433), for the most part he chose to remain at Ferrara up until his death in 1459.<sup>228</sup>

I have not been able to establish with certainty the identity of the nobleman Paulus Sabellus. He ought to have belonged to one of the mightier fami-

<sup>223</sup> For the various forms of this name, see *PLP* 30511.

<sup>224</sup> On the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, see WILSON & WILSON 1976. On Schedel's humanist interests as reflected by his library, see STAUBER 1908.

<sup>225</sup> BIGI 1962, 593.

<sup>226</sup> As Nigel Wilson points out, the often quoted figure of 238 manuscripts refers to the volumes containing pagan texts alone; we do not know how many volumes with patristic and other spiritual contents Aurispa added to these (WILSON 1992, 25).

<sup>227</sup> In Hartmann Schedel's *Nuremberg Chronicle*, only one line is devoted to Aurispa: *Joannes quoque Aurispa secretarius apostolicus rhetor luculentus in precio fuit et quedam composuit* (SCHEDEL 1493, ccxlv).

<sup>228</sup> On the inventory of Aurispa's own library at his death in 1459, see FRANCESCHINI 1976.



lies in Rome, the *Savelli* alias *Sabelli*. To this family, which became prominent in the thirteenth century, are counted cardinals and even a couple of popes (Honorius III and Honorius IV), furthermore a considerable number of *condottieri*, mercenary leaders.<sup>229</sup> Several members of the Savelli family were christened Paulus. One Paolo Savelli (1350–1405) served initially as a military commander under Gian Galeazzo Visconti of Milan, but after temporary assignments in Florence and Bologna he became the general of the troops of Venice.<sup>230</sup> He died of the plague while besieging Padua. A wooden equestrian sculpture of him was erected shortly afterwards in *Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari*, a church that was still under construction at the time of his death. This Savelli was apparently also a wealthy man, since he contributed to the building fund of the same church.<sup>231</sup> The address in Text 81, which describes Paulus as *nobilis et dives*, εὐγενὴς καὶ πλούσιος, would thus be eminently met in this *condottiere*. Another Paulo is mentioned briefly in Pompeo Litta's genealogical work: the son of Mariano Savelli and Servanzia Del Balzo, i.e., belonging to the Palombara branch of the Savelli house, this Paulo served in the army of the Florentine Republic in 1479.<sup>232</sup> The occasion was the war against Pope Sixtus IV after the so-called “Pazzi conspiracy” (the attempted coup d'état against Lorenzo de' Medici and the assassination of his brother Giuliano de' Medici). Whereas the date of birth of this *condottiere* is unknown, he must have died long before 1509, according to Litta.<sup>233</sup>

Towards the end of Text 81, it becomes increasingly difficult to identify the people referred to. The individuals called Petrus and Antonius may forever be hidden in history. There are ten of these less specific entries, addressed to friends, to a brother, to a son, and for the rest they simply give different options for how to approach anyone in letter form with courtesy and affability. Even though the addresses to a brother or a son might be aimed at family relations, one could also, and with a certain extent of probability, expect them to pertain to ecclesiastical or monastic relations, as when a cleric writes to a colleague or an abbot to his fellow brother in Christ. In my survey above, I have not brought up the question of polite phrases and the different levels of subservience and flattery, but one may easily imagine the importance of this matter for the Byzantine émigrés. Naturally, it had been of great significance in Constantinople too, in contacts with various

<sup>229</sup> The Savelli family was conferred the office of conclave marshal by Pope Gregory X, a position which was hereditary until the family's extinction in 1712, and which now belongs to the Chigi family (BAUMGARTNER 2003, 40).

<sup>230</sup> ZEDLER 1742, vol. 34, 302.

<sup>231</sup> On the sculpture of Paulo Savelli, see VALENTINO 1953.

<sup>232</sup> His father Mariano, also a military man, was for a long time employed by the Aragonese of Naples, then by Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta (1417–68), and finally by Pope Sixtus IV (LITTA 1872, plate VII).

<sup>233</sup> “[M]ori assai prima del 1509” (LITTA, *ibid.*). There may, of course, have been another 15<sup>th</sup>-c. Paulus Sabellus, noble and rich, who did not make it to the annals of history but happened to be mentioned in our titular collection.

court officials and servants of the Church. In the new political situation, where one needed to adjust oneself to Western feudal hierarchies and conventions, the question of language might become yet a stumbling block. The scribe of *Gr 8* apparently saw a formulary like Text 81 as a useful remedy for this, even though we do not know whether he needed it for his own sake or if he was teaching someone else how to navigate in an hierarchical society.

### The formulary reflecting a certain milieu

The model of Text 81 may have been bilingual or just in one language—we cannot tell at this stage. Nonetheless, the inaccurate initials in our Latin version (M. for del Balzo, G. from a misread  $\Lambda$  /  $\Gamma$ , and probably P. from an original  $\Phi$ .), do seem to indicate that the original text was written by a Greek-speaking scribe.<sup>234</sup> The person who created the original formulary either knew his way around the high and mighty in Italy or compiled his text using existing letters or letter collections where the persons were mentioned by name. Can we pin down when and where the original titulary collection was created? By looking at the dates—life span, time of appointment, et cetera—for the persons mentioned in the addresses, and combining them, we may at least narrow the scope for when the compilation would have been up to date. This can prove helpful even when not each and every entry adds up (as when a compiler makes use of extant letters of an older date).

<b>Pope:</b>	no name/date	
<b>Cardinal:</b>	Bessarion, appointed cardinal in December 1439	
	appointed <i>Sabinensis</i> 5. March 1449	
	appointed <i>Tusculanensis</i> 23. April 1449	† 1472
<b>Bishop:</b>	F. Pizolpasso bishop of Pavia 1427–June 1435.	† 1443
<b>Abbot:</b>	A. Chalkeopylos abbot in Patirion 1448–1457	† 1497
<b>Priest:</b>	Demetrios of S. Maria Maioris (no further identification)	
<b>Monk:</b>	Marco of Monte Cassino (no further identification)	
<b>King:</b>	Alfonso V ruled over both Sicilies from 1442	† 1458
<b>Prince:</b>	G. Del Balzo Orsini ruler of Tarent from 1414	† 1465
<b>Duke:</b>	Ludovico of Savoy duke from 1434	† 1465

<sup>234</sup> From the page layout it is clear that in *Gr 8* the Latin text was copied prior to the Greek; the Greek words are carefully positioned to fit on top of each Latin equivalent. The nib width and ink color used in the entry mentioning Marcus, monk of Monte Cassino, also suggest that the scribe, Theodoros, either used a model which allowed him to supplement the Latin—the “d.” (for “dominus”) is a correction added simultaneously with the Greek translation—or else that Theodoros knew enough Latin phrasing to supplement this text from the Greek wording in the model.

<b>Marquis:</b>	Leonello d'Este	marquis of Ferrara from 1441	† 1450
<b>Count:</b>	Onorato II	countship from 1441	† 1491
<b>Soldier and baron:</b>	Sansonetto de Lusi... (no further identification)		
<b>Jurisconsult:</b>	Antonio de Roselli	in Padua from 1438	† 1466
<b>Doctor of arts &amp; medicine:</b>	Matheolo of Perugia, teaching in Perugia from 1427 and in Padua from 1432		† 1479
<b>Learned &amp; eloquent:</b>	Giovanni Aurispa		† 1459
<b>Noble &amp; rich:</b>	Paolo Savelli	(uncertain identification: perhaps	† 1405)

Some of these timespans are too wide to provide any guidance for us. The time of reign for the king, marquis, and count points to a date after 1441–42 and before 1450, and most of the other entries would fit into the 1440s. The cardinal and abbot entries lever the balance towards the middle of the century, or 1448–49. On the other hand, if we consider the possibility of a cultural network which included the persons above, and perhaps even an existing letter collection, the most interesting period would be around the time of the Council of Basel-Ferrara-Florence. The contacts and friendships made in that setting, through contacts between Roman and Byzantine prelates, intellectuals, and political leaders, have left vestiges far and wide in letters and notes which still remain in Italian library collections and elsewhere. Above, I have pointed to Pizolpasso's wide correspondence with persons in the humanist circles, something which may explain why he is included in the formulary even though his Pavian appointment lies outside our tentative time span of the 1440s. Even if we suppose a general connection between many of the above-mentioned persons mainly at the Florence council proceedings, i.e. when Pizolpasso had already become archbishop of Milan, he would still have been a prominent figure. Earlier letters from or to him, where he is titulated *episcopus papiensis*, could have been available in somebody else's copy. Agostino Sottili mentions the correspondence between Aurispa, Pizolpasso, and Leonello d'Este.<sup>235</sup> We have seen that Athanasios Chalkeopylos maintained contacts with Bessarion and many others. Other nodal points of great importance would be Bessarion and his "academy" in Rome, or one of the courts which became locales of benefaction for Byzantine and Italian intellectuals, whether at Naples, Fondi, or Ferrara.

On the other hand, with an epistolary network one need not gather everybody in one place, and this is convenient when dealing with Text 81. Geographically the entries cover parts of southern Italy, with its Byzantine connections still operating in monastery circles, further Naples, Rome, and other princely centers in central and northern Italy, and university settings such as Padua. The titular collection suggests the networking which was called for

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<sup>235</sup> SOTTILI 1966, 63.

if one arrived in Italy and wanted to do well as a Byzantine scholar. At the time of the humanist movement, one could make a living as a Byzantine immigrant by teaching, copying manuscripts, translating Greek texts into Latin, obtaining Byzantine books for the Western European market, et cetera. But this was not done in a vacuum: someone had to pay for this work, and that is why an address collection like the one in Text 81 was practical. Ideas of what to include in a formulary need not always have come from actual letters. Another way to discover the networking would be from dedicatory addresses in manuscripts (and later in prints). Examples of this activity were seen in the case of Athanasios Chalkeopylos (links to Bessarion, Nicholas of Cusa,<sup>236</sup> to the royal house of Aragon/Naples), likewise in connection with Pizolpasso. The phenomenon becomes even more obvious when we look at major patrons of literary endeavors, like Alfonso V, Leonello d'Este and, once again, Bessarion.

The year 1449 is a plausible construction date for the original titulary collection, but perhaps we may speculate a bit further: the two entries for Bessarion could point to a construction date in the spring of 1449. Was Bessarion just about to be transferred to Tusculum when the formulary was written? Another possibility would be that the original entry concerned the see of S. Sabina and that the subsequent entry is a later addition, to update the contents of the formulary. Considering the fact that the *Escorialensis* *Ψ.IV.1*, where a text very similar to *Gr 8*'s Text 81 is included, has been dated to the mid-fifteenth century, our hypothetical construction date becomes more or less contemporary to that volume. One might even suspect that the Escorial text proffers the "archetype" for our Text 81. From the inclusion of the address collection in *Gr 8* some thirty years after the original list was created, we may gather that new readers (newly arrived émigrés?) could still avail themselves of its contents: the way to address the authorities would be the same, even if names and initials mattered less to later generations.

In Chapter 3, I suggested that we need to look for possible links between *Gr 8* and other scribes and manuscripts from the same time and area, in order to establish whether the scribe Theodoros could be tied to a cultural network. A name that was mentioned (on the basis of corresponding watermarks) was Michael Apostoles. In this connection, it is worth noting that Athanasios Chalkeopylos may be one of the scribes represented in the *Bruxellensis* 11270–11275, a folder containing several writings mainly emanating from the circle of scribes around Michael Apostoles. Dieter Harlfinger attributes ff. 104–105<sup>v</sup> to Chalkeopylos (although with the reservation that his handwriting shows resemblance to that of Demetrios Sgouropoulos), and suggests that Bessarion may be one of the other two hands represented in the same quire.<sup>237</sup> These leaves, containing Aristotle's *Metaphysica*, are followed by a

<sup>236</sup> Cf. MANOUSSACAS 1973, 517.

<sup>237</sup> MORAUX 1976, 81.

quire containing Manuel Christonymos' *Monody* in Michael Apostoles' hand, the same, rare, text which happens to appear in *Gr 8* as well (Text 20).<sup>238</sup> Even if this connection between the personage of the formulary and the scribe of *Gr 8* is tentative, it may offer an opening for continued discussions of how texts and manuscripts present us with vestiges of literary activity and textual transmission in the cultural networks of the Quattrocento.

### Addendum: The formulary in Codex Escorialensis Ψ.IV.1

The Escorialensis Ψ.IV.1 originated from Cyprus in the mid-fifteenth century, but since the manuscript is a composite written by several hands it is not obvious when the formulary was added to the book.<sup>239</sup> What Hugo Rabe did not observe was that there are actually two separate formularies in the same quire, written by different hands and in different ink.<sup>240</sup> The first one, on f. 301<sup>r-v</sup>, is an abridged version of the Ekthesis Nea, which breaks off in the middle of the verso page with the rest of the page blank. On f. 302<sup>r-v</sup>, another scribe then added a second collection of letter headings, analogous to Text 81 in *Gr 8* except that it is given in Greek only. The formularies are written on the first two leaves of a binion, the next two leaves of which are blank (ff. 303–304). This quire and the next one, which contains patristic letters written by yet another hand (ff. 305–312), have been inserted into a sequence of quires housing Emmanuel Raul's letters (four quaternions are involved: ff. 293–300; ff. 314–337; note that f. 113 does not exist).<sup>241</sup> Gregorio de Andrés' catalog description of the manuscript incorrectly indicates that Emmanuel Raul's letters continue on ff. 301–302, and makes no reference whatsoever to any formularies.<sup>242</sup>

The Escorial formulary (i.e., the one on f. 302) was added on a blank page, probably as an appendage to the preceding formulary. It is, despite the confusion of quires just mentioned, situated in a section of the manuscript wholly dominated by letters and letter collections.<sup>243</sup> The text is written in black ink, in

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<sup>238</sup> Before these texts ended up in a folder in the Royal Library at Brussels, they were part of a two volume composite manuscript belonging to Pierre Pantin. The quire with Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and the quire with Christonymos' *Monody* were included in the second volume, though in reverse order (cf. MORAUX 1976, 78–83).

<sup>239</sup> See the catalog entry in ANDRÉS 1967, 81–85. I would like to express my gratitude to Professor José Luis del Valle Merino at the El Escorial Library for giving me the opportunity to consult this manuscript firsthand.

<sup>240</sup> Cf. RABE 1909, 286.

<sup>241</sup> A reason for this misplacement at binding could be the quire numbering, since in the lower margin of the last verso of f. 300 and of f. 312 there is the quire number “α<sup>ov</sup>.” The number “β<sup>ov</sup>” follows on f. 321<sup>v</sup>. The quire number on f. 312 is apparently not in the same hand as the other two mentioned.

<sup>242</sup> ANDRÉS 1967, 82; cf. the edition of Emmanuel Raul's letters, in LOENERTZ 1956.

<sup>243</sup> In addition to Emmanuel Raul's letters, the following authors are included: Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, Libanios, Isidore of Pelousion, Synesios of Cyrene, Manuel Palaio-

what seems to be a skilled hand, but the orthography is very confused. A comparison with Text 81 as it stands in Gr 8 reveals that the Escorial manuscript gives a less complete text and muddles some of the items.<sup>244</sup> It uses the superlative throughout, whereas the Uppsala manuscript shows a gradation in line with the status of the addressee. The place name in line 63, Φούνδων (Fondi) is distorted: the scribe probably read the *phi* in the model as a tall one-stroke *tau* with a loop, the way he himself often writes *tau*.

We have already seen that Text 81 in Gr 8 must have been copied from a model; this would explain some of the peculiarities in initials and also the concentration of entries which point to the 1440s, perhaps peaking in 1449. Since the Escorialensis Ψ.IV.1 as a whole is dated to the mid-fifteenth century, its formulary would thus chronologically be closer to the original source. But since its readings are inferior in many places as compared to the ones in Gr 8, my conclusion is that neither of the two is the model for the other one. Rather, there must have been a third manuscript source to which both of them are related, each in its own way.

In the Escorial manuscript a fascinating addition was put in at the end of the formulary. It is an attempt to put together the opening of a letter to cardinal Bessarion. We recognize the first phrase from the formulary itself, but then the scribe continued with another few lines, as can be seen below. I keep the spelling unchanged, except for using capital letters in names.

τοῦ Νηκίας : –

Τῷ ἐδεσιμοτάτῳ ἔν Χριστῷ πατρὶ καὶ δεσπότῳ κυρίῳ κυρίῳ · Β · ἀξιολάτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ καρδινάλιῳ τῆς ἀγιότητος τοῦ Θεοῦ ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κοσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης καὶ ἡκουμένηκῳ πατριάρχῃ, αὐθέντῃ ἐμῷ ἐπικεστάτῳ: –

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logos. There are also some anonymous letters; cf. ANDRÉS 1967, 83. The codicological unit ends right before f. 346 (after three blank leaves and the stub from a cut-out leaf).

<sup>244</sup> Missing are, for example, the place name Patire, and Maria in the phrase “τῆς Ἀγίας Μαρίας τῆς Μεζζονος.” Confusion as to which item some of the words belong, can be seen in lines 25–29 and 77–79. The scribe has apparently made a leap from ἡγαπημένῳ (line 99) to ἀγαπητῷ in the next item, thus mixing two items into one. The same could have happened in line 97, where no brother is mentioned; perhaps he picked up the ending “ἀνδρὶ κυρίῳ” from the preceding item.

# Afterword

*We shall not cease from exploration  
And the end of all our exploring  
will be to arrive where we started  
And know the place for the first time.*

T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets*

Initially I stated that this would be a pilot study. It has been, but in two meanings of the word: a study of the codex from different perspectives and a study of the pilot himself, the κυβερνήτης βιβλίου Theodoros. The scribe has been an important centripetal force, and I have hopefully shown that the maze of texts was less chaotic than a first glance would suggest. Still, I hesitate to demand full closure and coherence from a codex like this. It should be allowed to sprawl, because that is part of the character of a composite with miscellaneous contents. The centrifugal tendencies might have presented themselves with more clarity had we chosen other foci in the analysis of the contents. This inherent vacillation between openness and closure also means that a different approach may be needed for another composite. One crucial element must however be included: the codicological survey, which provides the basis for assessing the structure of the whole codex and of the parts that make up the whole.

Even though the scribe Theodoros has been very much present in this study, we still know little of him as a person. Perhaps more information will come to light in the future through the study of other manuscripts in his handwriting or other sources. As for now, the “psychogram” is only initiated on the grounds of his work procedure and the contents of his “one-volume library.” In creating the codex Theodoros has woven a song of himself, and we are subsequently invited to follow some of the threads. Maybe a hitherto faded picture emerges, maybe we make a new one out of the fabric, based on our world view and experience.





# Appendix 1: Some *inedita* in *Gr* 8

## Text 6

### Αἱ πέντε δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς (f. 98<sup>r</sup>)

Αἱ πέντε δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς· νοῦς, διάνοια, δόξα, φαντασία καὶ αἴσθησις. ὁ δὲ νοῦς τέσσαρσιν ἀρεταῖς ἐντεθρόνισται ὡς ἱερώτατος ὢν· φρονήσει, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία καὶ σωφροσύνη. τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς μέρη τρία· θυμιτικόν, ἐπιθυμητικόν καὶ λογιστικόν. Αἱ πέντε αἰσθήσεις τοῦ σ<ώματος><sup>1</sup> ὄρασις, ὄσφρησις, ἀκοή, γεῦσις καὶ ἀφή.

## Text 12

### Λεξικὸν τῆς τῶν βοτανῶν ἐρμηνείας κατὰ στοιχεῖον (ff. 122<sup>v</sup>–127<sup>r</sup>)

ἀκτέα· ἡ κουφοξυλέα.  
ἀδένες· τὰ καταμάγουλα.  
ἄσις· ἡ λιποθυμία.  
ἁλμάδων· κολυμβάδων.  
ἄλφιτα· τὰ πίτυρα.  
ἀνθεμῖς· τὸ χαμαίμηλον.  
ἄρκευθος· ἀγχίαλος πόα, εἰκὼς  
ἀκανθῶδει κέδρω.  
ἀκαλυφῆ (-ήφη LSJ)· ἡ κνίδα.  
ἀδιάντον· τὸ τριχοβότανον.  
ἄμπελος λευκή· ἡ βρυωνία. ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
μαύρη ἢ ποιοῦσα ὡς ἀσπαράγγια καὶ  
ἐσθίοντα.  
ἄκορον· εἰκὼς ρίζαν ἱρεως ὑπόπικρον  
καὶ ἀρωματίζον.  
ἀρνόγλωσσον· τὸ λεπτὸν πεντάνευρον  
ἀνεμώνη· ἡ κουτζουνίδα. (-άδα Du  
Cange)  
ἀεῖζων· τὸ ἀμάραντον.  
ἀλκυόνιον· τῆς φώκης τὸ ἀφόδευμα.

ἄνθος λεικοῦ (λύκου?)· ἡ ἐπετιμένη.  
ἀγάλοχος· ἡ ἀλόη καὶ μὴ ἀπαναίνου.  
ἀγύλωψ (αἰγύλωψ LSJ)· ὁ βρόμος. ἔστι  
δὲ μὴν καθάπαντα παρόμοιον πλὴν  
μικρόν. φύεται δὲ εἰς παράστρατον καὶ  
εἰς δῶμα.  
ἀμιναία· ἡ σταφυλὴ ἢ στύφουσα, ἐξ οὗ  
καὶ μηνναῖος οἶνος ὁ αὐστηρός.  
ἀδάρκη· τὸ σιναπίδι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ  
ἀδάρκιον καὶ ἄδαρκος ὁ φλοιὸς τοῦ  
καλάμου.  
ἀκακία· ὁ χυλὸς τῶν προύμων.  
ἄνθος θαλάσσης· ὁ σπόγγος.  
ἀσκαλαβώτας· εἶδος ζῴου διατρέχον  
περὶ τὰ τεῖχη, τὸ λεγόμενον  
σαμιαμίνθιν.  
(123<sup>r</sup>) ἄλδς ἀμμωνικοῦ· τὸ ἀφρόνιτρον.  
ἄσφαλτον· πίσσα ἐξ Ἀραβίας.  
ἄσφαλτίδα· τὸ τρίφυλλον. ἔστι δὲ ἡ  
πικροσίκη.

<sup>1</sup> The word suggested inside brackets is missing in the manuscript due to trimming of the page; cf. John of Damascus, who calls the senses δυνάμεις σωματικά (Jo. Dam. *virt.*, PG 95, 85B–C.), and Ath., *De morbo* 7, 26ff.

ἀσφόδελος· τὸ παρόμοιον κρίνου.  
 ἀριστολογχεῖα· (-λόχεια LSJ) τῆς  
 κόρης τὸ τζαγκίν.  
 ἄλός· τὸ ἄλας.  
 αἰγείρου· τῆς πλατάνος τὰ σφαιρία.  
 ἀστήρ Ἀττικός· τὸ βουβώνιον  
 καλούμενον.  
 ἄλθαία· ἡ ἀσπρομολόγχη (-λόχη LSJ)  
 χρησιμεύουσα εἰς τὴν διαχύλου.  
 ἀλικάκαβος· στρύφνος (i.e. στρύχνος)  
 ὁ ποιὼν καρπὸν ἐρυθρόν.  
 ἄμεον· τὸ λαγωκύμινον.  
 ἄμυλον· τὸ καταστατόν.  
 ἀτράφαξ· τὸ χρυσολάχανον.  
 ἀβρότονον· ἀγχίαλος πόα ἐοικὼς (-υῖα  
 corr. supra lin.) ἀψίνθι.  
 ἀνδράχνη· τὸ χειροβότανον.  
 ἄφυσα (ἀφύσσων cod.) σπέρματα·  
 κύμινον, μάλαθρον, ἀνιθὸν τε καὶ  
 σέλινον. (cf. Gal. 10.578)  
 ἀρτεμισία· τὸ ἐρμιγγοβότανον, ἐοικυῖα  
 χαμαίμηλον τοῖς ἄνθεσι.  
 ἀθηναῖα· ἡ πρόπολις.  
 <ἀ>μάρακον· ἐοικέναι χαμαίμηλον.  
 ἄλιμον· τὸ δαμασώνιον.  
 ἀργεννοῖο πυρώδεος· τὸ λευκοπέπερι.

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ β

βοράχιον· ἡ πομόφλυξ.  
 βρέφους ἀμόρφου· ἡ ἄρκτος.  
 βάλανος· τὸ ὑποθετόν.  
 βατράχιον· ἡ βοθρακίδα.  
 βδέλλιον· χυλὸς ἰνδικὸς ἐοικὼς  
 σμύρνη.  
 βράθιον· ἐοικὼς κυπαρίσσου φύλλα,  
 ἀρωματίζον.  
 βεριάδα (i.e. ἰβηρίς)· τὸ ἀγριοκάρ-  
 δαμον.  
 βόγλωσσον· πάντες ἴσασι.  
 βησασά· τὸ μῶλυ.  
 βαλαύστιον· ῥόδον Αἰγύπτιον ἀγρίας  
 ῥοιάς.  
 βούφθαλμον· ἐοικὼς χαμαίμηλον,  
 (123') ἔστι δὲ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ καὶ  
 δριμὺ καὶ μεῖζον.  
 βρυωνία· ἡ ἄμπελος λευκή.  
 γινώσκεται δὲ καὶ τῆς ῥίζης καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀπὸ τῶν φύλλων.

#### ἀρχὴ <τοῦ> γ

γλυकुσίδιον· ἡ παιωνία.  
 γαλακάς (i.e. γαλαγγά)· ἐοικὼς ζιγγίβερ  
 πύρεθρον.  
 γλαύκιον· μήκων ὁ κερατίτης, ὁ καὶ  
 παράλιος.  
 γλίγων (i.e. γλήχων/βλήχων)· τὸ  
 βλίσκουνι.  
 γλεῦκος· τὸ σύρι.  
 γύρι· ἡ περὶ τὸν μύλωνα καλουμένη  
 πασπάλη.  
 γλοιός· τὸ λυκόριζον (i.e. γλυκύρρ-).

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ δ

Διὸς βάλανος· τὸ κάστανον.  
 δαμασώνιον· τὸ ἄλιμον, ἔστι δὲ  
 παρόμοιον ῥάμνου.  
 Διονυσιακοῦ φύλλων· ἀμπέλων  
 δυναμένων ἐσθίεσθαι.  
 δόλιχοι· οἱ φάσουλοι  
 διοφρυγές (διφρ-?)· ἡ κολοφώνια.  
 δακρύδιον· ἡ σκαμωνία.  
 δορύκνιον· ὁ στρύφνος. (-ύχν- LSJ)  
 δίψακος· ζῶον ὁ κροκόδειλος, διψακὸς  
 δὲ ἡ βοτάνη ὁ χαμαιέων.  
 διάταμος (δίκτηαμον?)· ὁ ἄγριος γλίχων.

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ ε

ἐλξίνη· τὸ παρθενοῦδιν.  
 ἐλλέβορος· τὸ καρπίν.  
 ἐρυθρόδανον· τὸ ῥιζάριν.  
 ἔδρα· ὁ ἀφεδρών.  
 ἐλατήριον· ὁ χυλὸς τῶν ἀγριοσκύνων  
 (-σικύνων?).  
 Εὐπατόριον· τὸ ὑπατόριον φύλλα ἔχων  
 παρόμοιον σουμάκιν.  
 ἐρεγμόν· ὁ τῶν κυάμων φλοιὸς ἢ τῆς  
 πτισάνης.  
 ἐρύσιμον· τὸ ἄγριον σίναπι.  
 ἐλένιον· ἀγχίαλος πόα, ἐοικυῖα τὰ  
 φύλλα τεύτλου μικρά.  
 ἔτνος· ὁ φλοιὸς ἢ κυάμου ἢ κριθῆς ἢ  
 ἐτέρου τινός.  
 ἔρευθος· ἡ κοκκινότης.  
 ἐπισκύνια· (124') τὰ βλέφαρα.  
 εὐζωμον· ἡ ῥόκα.  
 ἐμύδα· ἡ λίμνια χελώνη.  
 ἐλίχρυσος· ἄνθος κισσοῦ.

**ἀρχή τοῦ ζ**

ζύθος· τὸ φουκάδιν.

**ἀρχή τοῦ η**

ἡρύγγιον· ἀγγίαλος σὺν ἀκάνθαις  
βοτάνη.  
ἡτρον· ἡ ὑστέρα ἢ τὸ ἔντερον.  
ἡνιον (i.e. ἰνίον)· ὁ τράχηλος.  
ἡδύσαρον· ὁ πελεκίνος, ἔστι δὲ ὁ  
καρπὸς παρόμοιος σπάρτῳ.  
ἡλιοτρόπιον· τὸ σκορπιούριον.

**ἀρχή τοῦ θ**

θέρμια· τὰ λυπυνάρια.  
θαψία· εἶδος βοτάνης.  
θρίδαξ· τὸ μαρούλιον.  
θάμιος· πᾶσα φύσις βοτανῶν.  
θεραπαινίδιον· τὸ κυνόγλωσσον.  
θύμος· ὁ θρύμβος.  
θλάσπι· ἡ βερίδα ἡγουν τὸ ἀγριοκάρ-  
δαμον.  
θυμελαία· ἡ κνίδα.  
θριαλῖς· ὁ γροῖδς (i.e. ἄγριος) φλόμος,  
ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρυσοειδὴς καὶ μυρίζων  
τοῖς ἄνθεσι.

**ἀρχή τοῦ ι**

ἱρι· τὸ καλαμόκρινον.  
ἰός· τὸ ἰάριν.  
ἰξία· τὸ οὐλοφόνον.  
ἱλεκτρον (i.e. ἡλ-) τὸ βερονίκιν.  
ἱεράκιον· τὸ παρόμοιον σόγχος.  
ἱά· τὰ ἄνθη.  
ἱπποσέλινον· τὸ ἀγριοσέλινον. γίνεται  
δὲ εἰς κύμας πετρῶδης φύλλον ἔχων  
πλατύ.  
ἱπούρι· τὸ πολυκόμπιν.  
ἱπομάλαθρον· τὸ ἀγριομάλαθρον.  
γίνεται δὲ εἰς ἀγρούς.  
ἱπολάπαθον· τὸ ἀγριολάπαθον.

**ἀρχή <τοῦ> κ**

κισσάνθεμον· τὸ κυκλάμινον.  
κιρρὸς οἶνος· ὁ κυδωνάτος.  
κίττη· τὸ κιτάριον.  
κνάμου θηρὸς ἀπ' Ἀρκαδίας· τὸ  
ὕοσκυαμον. (ὥσκ- cod.)  
κόνια (κονία Gal.)· ἡ στακτή.

κέλυφος· ὁ φλοιός.  
καλλικεραΐα· ἡ τίλη. (i.e. τήλις)  
κάταγμα· τὸ ἐπικάθισμα.  
(124<sup>v</sup>) κύαθος· μέτρον σταθμοῦ.  
κυνόμορον· κυνὸς βάτου.  
κτιδόνας· τὰς τζίπας.  
κέστρος· ἡ βετονίκη.  
κύαμος· τὸ φάβα.  
κύμινον Αἰθιοπικόν· τὸ καρναβάνδιν ἢ  
τὸ μελάνθιν.  
κοκκύμηλον· τὸ δαμάσκηνον.  
κόμμι· τὸ ψιμίθιον.  
κόμμι· τὸ κομίδην.  
κράμα· τὸ σύρεως (i.e. σίραιον) ἡγουν  
τὸ ἔψημα.  
κώνιον· ἡ μαγκουναία.  
κόλλη τεκτονική· ἡ ψηροκόλλη (ξύλο-)  
κάσαμον· τοῦ βαλσάμου τὸ σπέρμα.  
κάλαμος ἀρωματικός· εὐοικῶς  
λεπτοτάτῳ δόνακι, ὑπόπικρον καὶ  
ἀρωματίζων  
κάγχριον· εἶδος ἀρώματος.  
κρότων· ἡ κικέα.  
κενταύριον· ἡ ἄθαλη.  
κύτινοι· ὀνομάζονται δ' οὕτως αἱ  
πρωτόγονοι ροαῖ, καθ' ὃν χρόνον  
ἀνθοῦν παύεται τὸ δένδρον. ὁ δὲ  
καρπὸς αὐτοῦ σχηματιζόμενος εἰς  
εἰδέαν ροιᾶς.  
κοριανός· τὸ κολιάνδρον.  
κάρυον Ποντικόν· τὸ λεπτόκαρον.  
καρπίσιον· εἶδος ἀρώματος εὐοικῶς  
κολιάνδρω.  
καυκαλίδα· τὸ ἀγριόδαυκον.  
κοτυλίδα· ἡ ποτηρίδα.  
κνέωρον· ἡ χαμαιλαία.  
καθμία· ἡ τουτία.  
κόννοι· οἱ στρόβιλοι ἢ καὶ κόκκαλοι  
παρὰ τοῦ Ἴπποκράτους.  
κωδία· ὁ μήκων.  
Κολοφωνία· ἡ κατευρασμένη ῥητίνη.  
<κ>όστος γλυκὺς· ὁ ἐξ Ἀραβίας, ἔστι  
δὲ καὶ ἕτερος πικρός. (cf. s.v. φοῦ)  
κυάνεον· τὸ μέλαν.  
κυνόγλωσσον· τὸ θεραπενίδιν.  
(125<sup>f</sup>) κνίδη· ἡ θημολέα (θυμελαία LSJ)  
ἡγουν ἡ κνίδα.  
κολοκινθίδα· ἡ ἐντερώνη.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <λ>**

λαδωνίδα· ἡ δάφνη.  
 λεπίδιον· ἡ βηρίδα ἥγουν θλάσπι, γίνεται δὲ εἰς περιαύλια. (cf. s.v. βεριάδα)  
 λινόζωστον· τὸ παρθενοῦδιν.  
 (παρθένιον Dsc.)  
 λάκαφος (λάκαφθον LSJ)· ἡ φλοιὸς πίτυος ἢ ἐτέρου δένδρου.  
 <λ>εῖον· τὸ συνενωμένον.  
 λιγμός (cf. *scholia recentiora Tzetzae in Aristophanem*, sch plut verse 210: λυγγός)· ὁ κλόξος.  
 λωτός· ἡ κοκηβαῖα ἢ τὸ γλυκοκάλαμον.  
 λιβόριον· εἰκὸς κατὰ πάντα τὰ φύλλα κουφοξυλέας.  
 λιβανωτίδα· τὸ δενδρολίβανον.  
 λιμνήτις (i.e. Δημνί-)· ἡ Δημνία (λυμνεία cod.) σφραγίς.  
 λύκιον· αἱ ψαλίδαι τοῦ κλήματος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐλύκιον Ἰνδικόν.  
 Λιβυστικόν· σπέρμα μικρὸν εἰκὸς σελίνω, κομίζεται δὲ ἐκ Φραγγίας.  
 λαθυρίδες· τὰ χολόκοκκα.  
 λέκυνθος (i.e. λέκιθος)· ὁ κρόκος τοῦ ῥοῦ.  
 λεοντία· ἡ ὀριβάχη (ὀροβάχη Dsc.) ἥτις φουμένη ἐν κυάμοις ἀπόλλει τὰ πλησιάζοντα.  
 λαγωγύμιον· τὸ ἄμεον.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <μ>**

μέλι Ἀττικόν· τὸ ἀπὸ Ἀθήνας, ἔστι δὲ ὅρος ἐκεῖ Μιτὸς (i.e. Ὑμηττός) καλούμενον.  
 μάζα· ἡ πίττα.  
 μυροπισσόκηρον· πίσσα καὶ κηρὸς τηκομένων μετὰ τινῶν μύρων.  
 μαλθακόν· τὸ ὁμαλόν.  
 μαδαμουδάν· ἀσφάλαξ, ζῶον τυφλόν.  
 μελαντηρίαν· τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ὕλων μετ' ὅξους ἐσκευασμένοι.  
 μαυρίν, ὃ χρῶνται οἱ σκυτοτόμοι.  
 μιονίδα· τὸ σπληνοβότανον. (cf. Dsc. 3,134)  
 μωτός· τὸ μουντάριν.  
 μάνις (μάννα?)· τὸ λεπτότατον τοῦ λιβάνου εἰκὸς χοῦν.

μῦδες· οἱ τζίπες. (cf. s.v. κτιδόνας) (125<sup>ν</sup>) μυροβάλανον· μικρότερον καὶ λευκότερον τοῦ χρυσοβαλάνου.  
 μυρτέα· ἡ μυρσίνη.  
 μύκητες· οἱ ἀμανίτες.  
 μώρονα (μώρα Suda)· τὰ συκάμινα.  
 μῶλυ· τὸ ἀγριοπήγανον.  
 μήκων· ἡ κωδία.  
 μυάκανθα· ἡ ἀσπαραγγία.  
 μελίλωτα· τὸ καρτζαμίδι.  
 μύαγρος· ὁ πετραῖος ἀσπάραγος.  
 μύρτος· ὁ καρπὸς τῆς μυρσίνης.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ ν**

ναρθηξίω· ἡ κνίδας κλάδοις. (cf. Paul. Aeg. 3.18.4.)  
 νάρδον Ἰνδικόν· τὸ στάχος.  
 νάρδου Κελτικῆς· τὸ σύγγουδον. (cf. Tzetzes *Chil.* 7.119, 183: σίσγουδον)  
 νᾶμα ταύρων θυγατέρων· τὸ μέλι.  
 Ναυπλίου Εὐ<β>οέας· τὸ πύρεθρον. (cf. Gal. 13, 270)  
 νήριον· ἡ ῥο<δο>δάφνη.  
 νάρκισσος· ὁ ἐμετικὸς βολβίος.  
 νίτρον· εἶδος ἱατρικὸν ἄλικόν, εἰκὸς ἀφ<ρ>ονίτρω, ἔστι δὲ κόκκινον καὶ λευκόν.

**[N] <ἀρχὴ τοῦ ξ>**

ξυρίς· τὸ ἄγριον κρίνον.  
 ξανθὴ τρίχα· ὁ καλούμενος κρόκος.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ ο**

ὀξύφυλλον· ἡ ἀσφαλίδα.  
 ὄχροι· τὸ λαθύρι.  
 ὄπος μήκωνος (-εῖνός cod.)· τὸ ὄπιον.  
 ὀξαλίδα· ἡ ὀξυνίδα.  
 ὀπὸς Κυρηναϊκός· ὁ σκορδολάζαρος.  
 ὀρεοσέλινον· τὸ πετροσέλινον.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ π**

πισσοί· τὰ γλυκοκουκκία.  
 πῖον· τὸ ὄπιον.  
 περικαλαμίτις· ὁ φλοιὸς τοῦ δόνακος.  
 πιμελή· τὸ ἀξούγγιον.  
 πύραθοι· κόπρος προβάτου.  
 πελιδνόν· τὸ μολυβόχροον.  
 πελεκίνος· μικρὸν φυτὸν ἀσπάρτου

ἔχων παραπλησίως καρπόν.  
 πτισάνη· τὸ γυμνόκριθον.  
 πεντάφυλλιον· τὸ εὐπατόριον.  
 πεταλώδη· (126<sup>Γ</sup>) τὸ οἶον μέλαν,  
 ἀναμιχθὲν καὶ ποιήσῃ ὡς πέταλα.  
 πριαμίσκος· ὁ βαβάκινος μωτός.  
 πευκέδανον· πόα ἐοικυῖα μαλάθρῳ  
 ὑπερύθρῳ.  
 πεύταυρον· ἡ παιωνία.  
 πύρεθρον· εἶδος ἀρώματος.  
 περδίκιον· ἡ σιδηρίτις.  
 πράσιον· ὁ καλάνθροπος.  
 πίττη· ἡ πίσσα.  
 πρωτόστακτον· τὸ πρωτεῖον.  
 πιτύνη· ἡ ῥητίνη·  
 παρλύνειδον· ἡ ἀγριομολόγη.  
 περσαία (-έα supra lin.)· ἡ ῥοδακινέα.  
 πολύγονον· τὸ πολυκόμπιν.  
 πόλιον· εἶδος βοτάνης.  
 πομφόλυξ· τὸ βοράχιον.

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ <ρ>

ῥόδα· τὰ τριαντάφυλλα.  
 ῥοῦς· τὸ σουμάκιν.  
 ῥάσδον· τὸ ἐλένιον.  
 ῥίζης ψευδωνύμου· τὸ ἰνδικὸν νάρδον.

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ <σ>

σύρεως· τὸ ἔψημα. (cf. s.v. κράμα)  
 σφαιρίτης· ἡ κυπάρισσος.  
 σχῆς (σχιστή?)· ἡ στυπτηρία.  
 σμύρνιον· τὸ ἵπποσέλινον.  
 σικυνία· ἡ ἐντεριώνη.  
 σφυρά· τὰ ἀντζία.  
 στέρνον· τὸ στήθος.  
 σίλφιον· εἶδος βοτάνης.  
 σκορπίουρον· ἐοικὸς οὐρὰν σκορπίου  
 χερσαίου τῷ ἄνθει.  
 σταφυλίνος· τὸ ἄγριον δαυκίν.  
 σέρις· τὸ ἄγριον ἵνυβον.  
 σκόλυμον· ὁ σκόλυμβρος.  
 σαγαπηνόν· ὁπὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδίας βαρύ-  
 οσμος.  
 σίδια· τὰ τῆς ῥοιᾶς ἄνθη.  
 σύμφυτον ἡμερον· ἔχων φύλλα ἀει-  
 ζῶου παχύτερα καὶ ἐπιμηκέστερα.  
 σύμφυτον ἄγριον· τὸ ἐλένιον.  
 (126<sup>ν</sup>) σκάνδις· ἡ βελωνίδα.

σανδαράχη· τὸ κόκκινον ἀρσενίκη.  
 στυπτηρία· ἡ στύψις.  
 σέσελι· τὸ πλατυκύμινον.  
 σίνηπι· τὸ σίναπι.  
 σαρκοκόλλη· ὃ λέγεται ἀζαρούτιν  
 ἐοικὸς ὡς μικρὸν λίβανον.  
 σικύα· τὰ τετράγουρα.  
 στρούθιν· τὸ καλυστρουθίν.  
 σίσωνος· εἶδος ἀρώματος ἐοικὸς ἀνίσῳ  
 μικρῷ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁσμὴν θύμου.  
 στιχάδα· ἐοικυῖα θύμου, κορύβων  
 ἀρωματίζουσα.  
 σουσούνιον· τὸ κρινέλαιον.  
 σφέκλης· οἴνου τρύξ.  
 σ<κ>υφίον· τὸ ὑπεράνω τοῦ ὀστέου τῆς  
 κεφαλῆς.  
 σκύνια· τὰ βλέφαρα.  
 σισύμβριον· τὸ κάρδαμον.  
 σκύλλον· τὸ σκυλλοκρόμμινον.  
 σκόρδιον (σκάρδιον cod.) ἐοικὸς λεπτῇ  
 καλαμίνθῃ [ὑπόλευκον], ἐν δὲ τῇ ὁσμῇ  
 ποσῶς σκορδίζων.  
 στύραξ· ἐοικὸς τῇ ὁσμῇ θυμιάματι, τῇ  
 δὲ χρόα ὑπόλευκον.  
 σατύριον· ἔχων ῥίζαν ὡς διδύμους.  
 σαρξίφαγον· φυτὸν ἔχον ἀκάνθας περὶ  
 τὴν κεφαλὴν.  
 σίσαμον· τὸ σισάμιον.

#### ἀρχὴ τοῦ <τ>

τρόξιμον· τὸ μαιούλιον τὸ ἄγριον,  
 γίνεται δὲ εἰς φραγμούς.  
 τραγά[γ]κανθα· τὸ τετράκανθον.  
 ταυρόκολλα· ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν βυρσῶν κόλλα.  
 ταινία· τὰ στέφανα.  
 τειχοδαίμων· στρουθίον μικρόν.  
 ταριχευμένα· τὰ ἀλιεσμένα (ἀλιζο-  
 μένα?)  
 τρωγλο(127<sup>Γ</sup>)δύτης· στρουθίον ἐοικὸς  
 μικρῷ βασιλίσκῳ.  
 τραγοπάγων· τὸ λάδανον.  
 τεύχιον· μικρὸν φυτὸν ἐοικὸς  
 χαμαιδρίῳ.  
 τιχία· ἡ κριθῆς.  
 τερηδόνα· αἱ τρύπαι.  
 τιθάμαλον· τὸ ὀξύτερον. (ὀξύπορον? cf.  
 LANGKAVEL 29,1)

τρίφυλλον· ἡ πικροσίκη ἥγουν  
ἀσφάλτιον. (cf. s.v. ἀσφαλίτιδα)

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <υ>**

ὑπατόριον (ὑποταύρ- cod.)· τὸ  
εὐπατόριον ἥγουν πεντάφυλλον.  
ὑπερικόν· εἶδος βοτάνης.  
ὑφορον· τὸ πεντάνευρον.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <φ>**

φοῦ· ὁ πικρὸς κόστος. (cf. s.v. κόστος  
γλυκύς)  
φυσαλλίδες· ἐοικυῖαι δορύκνιον.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <χ>**

χρυσάνθεμον· τὸ χαμαίμηλον.

χαμαιπίτυς· ἐοικυῖα λεπτῇ κονίζῃ.  
χάσκουσα· ἡ παιωνία.  
χάλκανθον· τὸ χαλκάνθιν.  
χάρμωνον· τὸ μώλεον.  
χρυσοβάλανον· ἐοικὸς ξανθὸν κέπουλε,  
ἔστι δὲ στρογγυλόν.  
χαλκὸς κεκαυμένος· ὁ λεγόμενος  
χόχλος.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ ψ**

ψέλεον (i.e. ψύλλιον)· βότανον ἔχον  
σπέρμα καθάπερ ψύλλου.

**ἀρχὴ τοῦ <ω>**

ὠκιμον· τὸ βασιλικόν.

Text 14

**On contraceptives, inc. Κυκλάμινον (f. 127<sup>v</sup>)**

Κυκλάμινον βασταζόμενον ἀτοκίαν παντελῇ ποιεῖ· πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἔμβρυα φθείρει.  
ἢ μηρίκαν (μυρίκην?) καρπὸς καὶ φύλλα πινόμενος μετὰ οἴνου, ἀτοκίαν καὶ αὐτὸ  
ποιεῖ.

Text 18

**Περὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀποκαταστάσεις τοῦ βίου (ff. 134<sup>f</sup>–137<sup>f</sup>)**

Τρεῖς ἀποκαταστάσεις τοῦ βίου οἶδεν ὁ λόγος καλεῖν· σαρκικὴν, ψυχικὴν καὶ  
πνευματικὴν· τούτων ἐκάστη ἰδίαν ἔχει διάθεσιν τῆς ζωῆς διακεκριμένην καὶ  
κεχωρισμένην πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποκαταστάσεων παντάπασιν ἄμικτον  
καὶ ἀνόμοιον. ἡ μὲν γὰρ σαρκικὴ τοῦ βίου κατάστασις ὅλη καθ' ὅλου πρὸς ἡδονὰς  
καὶ ἀπολαύσεις τῆς παρουσίας ζωῆς καταγίνεται,<sup>2</sup> μηδὲν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχικῆς  
καταστάσεως ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς πνευματικῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἔχουσα ἢ καὶ ὅλως βουλομένη  
προσκοπήσασθαι.

(134<sup>v</sup>) Ἡ δὲ ψυχικὴ μεθόριός τις κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος  
ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ὑγίαν ὁρᾷ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔπαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπ' ἴσης τοὺς τε  
πόνους ἀποσειομένη τῶν ἀρετῶν καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἀποφεύγουσα τῆς σαρκός, μὴ  
προσκεϊμένη κακίᾳ ἢ ἀρετῇ διὰ τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀντιθέτους αἰτίας, ἀρετῇ μὲν διὰ τὸ

<sup>2</sup> καταγίνεται] ἐπιγίνεται cod. κατὰ supra ἐπι- addidit

τραχὺ ταύτης ὁμοῦ καὶ ἐπίπονον, κακίᾳ δὲ διὰ τὸ μὴ προσαπολέσαι τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαίνους.

Ἡ δὲ πνευματικὴ τοῦ βίου κατάστασις τοῦτων οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔχει αἰρεῖται οὔτε πρὸς οὔτω κακὰ καταγίνεσθαι τὰ ἀμφοτέρω, ἀλλ' ὅλη δι' ὅλου ἐλευθερός ἐστι ταύτης κάκεινης, *πτέρυξι περιηργυρωμένη* (Ps. 67:14) ἀγάπης καὶ ἀπαθείας, ὑπεριπταμένη τῶν ἀμφοτέρων μήτε πράττουσά τι τῶν ἀπηγορευμένων καὶ τὴν ἄργειαν ἀποφεύγουσα τῶν καλῶν.

*Οἱ δὲ ἐν σαρκὶ ζῶντες Θεῷ ἀρέσαι οὐ δύνανται* (Rom. 8:8).

Οἱ σαρκικῶς ζῶντες καὶ πολὺ τῆς σαρκὸς φρόνημα ἐπικείμενον ἑαυτοῖς ἔχοντες οὐ δύνανται ἀρέσαι Θεῷ, σάρκες ὄντες αὐτόχροιμα. σκοτεῖνοι γάρ εἰσι τοῖς φρο(135')νήμασι καὶ τῶν ἀκτίων τοῦ θείου φωτὸς πάντῃ ἀμέτοχοι. τὰ γὰρ ἐπιπροσθοῦντα νέφη τῶν παθῶν ὥσπερ ὑψηλὰ τεῖχη ἀποτεριχίζοντα ἔχοντες τὰς λαμπηδόνας τοῦ πνεύματος ἀφώτιστοι διαμένουσι, πηροὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὄντες τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν οὐ δύνανται πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ κάλλη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀνανεῦσαι καὶ τὸ φῶς ἰδεῖν τῆς ἀληθινῆς τῷ ὄντι ζωῆς καὶ ὑπεράνω γενέσθαι τῶν ὀρωμένων τῆς ταπεινώσεως, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀποκτηνωθέντες καὶ αἰσθησις γεγονότες τοῦ κόσμου, τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς καὶ ἀνθρωπίνους πράγμασι τὸ τοῦ λόγου δεσμοῦσιν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα πρὸς τὰ ὀρώμενα καὶ φθειρόμενα ἔχουσιν, ἀλλήλοις διὰ ταῦτα μαχόμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας τιθέντες ψυχὰς ἀντεχόμενοι χρημάτων, δόξης καὶ ἡδονῶν τῆς σάρκος καὶ ζημίαν μεγάλην τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἀποτυχίαν ἡγούμενοι. πρὸς οὗς εἰκότως ὥς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸ προφητικὸν ἐκεῖνο λέγεται λόγιον, *οὐ μὴ μείνῃ τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τούτοις διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτοὺς σάρκα* (Gen. 6:3).

(135'') *Οἱ δὲ ψυχικῶς ζῶντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καλούμενοι ψυχικοὶ* (1 Cor. 2:14) ὅμι μωροὶ τινες καὶ ὡς παρειμένοι τὰ μέλη τυγχάνουσι, μήτε πονέσαί ποτε ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐντολῆς Θεοῦ προθυμούμενοι, καὶ τὰς ἐπιψόγους πράξεις διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων δόξαν ἐκφεύγοντες· φιλαυτία δὲ τῇ τροφῇ τῶν ὀλεθρίων παθῶν κατακρατοῦμενοι, πάσης θεραπείας διὰ τὴν ὑγείαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν τῆς σαρκὸς ἀντιποιοῦνται, καὶ πᾶσαν θλῖνιν καὶ πάντα πόνον καὶ πᾶσαν κακοπάθειαν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς ἀποσεύονται, τὸ πολέμιον πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐπιθάλλοντες σῶμα. οὔτω δὲ βίου καὶ ἀγωγῆς ἔχοντες ἀπογαιοῦνται τὸν νοῦν, τοῖς πάθεσι παχυνθέντες, καὶ ἀπαράδεκτοὶ εἰσι τῶν νοητῶν καὶ θείων πραγμάτων, ὑφ' ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ τῆς ὕλης ἀρπάζεται καὶ ὅλη πρὸς νοητοὺς ἐμπεριπολεῖ οὐρανούς. τοῦτο δὲ πάσχουσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕλικου ἔτι κατεχόμενοι πνεύματος ὡς τὰς ἰδίας φιλοῦντες ψυχὰς καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ θελήματα αὐτῶν προαιρούμενοι. κενοὶ γὰρ ὄντες τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἀγίου ἅμιοιροὶ εἰσι καὶ τῶν χαρισμάτων αὐτοῦ, (136') ὅθεν οὐδὲ καρπὸν ἐστι θεῖον ἰδεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς – ἀγάπην εἰς θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον αὐτῶν ἢ χαρὰν ἐν πτωχείᾳ καὶ θλίψεσιν ἢ ψυχῆς εἰρήνην ἢ εὐδιάθετον πίστιν ἢ περιεκτικὴν ἐγκράτειαν – ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κατάνυξιν ἢ δάκρυον ἢ ταπείνωσιν καὶ συμπάθειαν, πάντα δὲ ὄγκου καὶ ὑπερηφανίας μεστά. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ βαθύνειν εἰς τὰ βάθη τοῦ πνεύματος οἴκοθεν δυνάμεως ἀποροῦσιν. οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸ ὀδηγοῦν φῶς καὶ *διανοῖον τὸν νοῦν εἰς τὸ συνιέναι τὰς γραφάς* (Lk. 24:45), ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλων διηγουμένων ἀκοῦσαι ταῦτα ἀνέχονται. εἰκότως οὖν καὶ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ ἀπόστολος ἀπεφώνητο, *ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος, λέγων, οὐ*

δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· μωρία γάρ εἰσιν αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ὁ νόμος πνευματικός ἐστι καὶ πνευματικῶς ἀνακρίνεται (1 Cor. 2:14).

Ὅσοι πνεύματι Θεοῦ ἄγονται, οὗτοι εἰσιν υἱοὶ Θεοῦ (Rom. 8:14).

Οἱ δὲ πνεύματι στοιχοῦντες καὶ τὴν πνευματικὴν ἐπανηρημένοι ζωὴν δι' ὅλου εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ Θεῷ, προσανακείμενοι ὡς ναζιραῖοι αὐτῷ. αἱ γὰρ πόνοις ἑαυτῶν καθαίρουσι τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς τοῦ Κυρίου τηροῦσι. κενοὺν ἑαυτῶν τὰ αἵματα (136<sup>v</sup>) ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ, τὴν σάρκα τήκουσιν νηστείας καὶ ἀγρυπνίας, δάκρυσι τὸ πάχος λεπτύνουσι τῆς καρδίας, κακοπαθείᾳ νεκροῦσι τὰ μέλη τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, προσευχῇ καὶ μελέτῃ τὸν νοῦν πληροῦσι φωτὸς καὶ λαμπρὸν αὐτὸν ἀπεργάζονται, τῇ ἀπαρνήσει τῶν θελημάτων χωρίζουσι τὰς ἰδίας ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος προσπαθείας καὶ ὅλοι μόνου τοῦ πνεύματος γίνονται. διὸ καὶ πνευματικοὶ οὐ μόνον γνωρίζονται ἀλλὰ καὶ καλοῦνται ὑπὸ πάντων εἰκότως. οὗτοι πρὸς ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐρχόμενοι πρὸς θεωρίαν περοῦνται τῆς κτίσεως καὶ τὴν γνῶσιν ἐκείθεν τῶν ὄντων διὰ θεωρίας καὶ σοφίας λαμβάνουσι τῆς ἀποκεκρυμμένης Θεοῦ καὶ μόνοις διδομένης τοῖς ὑπεράνω γενομένοις τῆς τοῦ σώματος ταπεινώσεως. τοῖνυν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν αἴσθησιν τοῦ κόσμου διαπεράσαντες καὶ διανοίᾳ πεφωτισμένη εἰς τὰ ὑπὲρ αἴσθησιν γεγονότες τρανοῦνται τὸν λόγον καὶ ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας Θεοῦ καὶ συναγωγῆς τῶν πιστῶν λόγους καθαρὸς ἐκ καθαρᾶς καρδίας ἐρεύγονται καὶ γίνονται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄλλας καὶ φῶς καθὰ καὶ ὁ Κύριος πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀποφθέγγεται· ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ ἄλλας τῆς γῆς (137<sup>r</sup>) καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐστε τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου (Mt. 2:13–14): φῶς μὲν, ὡς τὸν βίον ἐνάρετος καὶ λαμπρὸς τῷ λόγῳ καὶ σοφὸς τὴν διάνοιαν, ἄλλας δὲ, ὡς τὴν γνῶσιν πολλὴν τὴν θεῖαν καὶ δυνατὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

## Text 19

### On the three stages of spiritual life, inc. Τρεῖς εἰσὶ τάξεις (ff. 137<sup>r</sup>–138<sup>v</sup>)

Τρεῖς εἰσὶ τάξεις ἐν τοῖς ποιούμενοις τὰς προκοπὰς τῶν τελειοποιῶν ἀναβάσεων· καθαρτικὴ, φωτιστικὴ, μυστικὴ ἢ τελειοποιός· καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν εἰσαγωγικῶν, ἡ δὲ τῶν μέσων, ἡ δὲ τῶν τελείων. διὰ γὰρ τῶν τριῶν τούτων κατὰ τάξιν ἀνερχόμενος ὁ σπουδαῖος αὐξάνεται εἰς τὴν κατὰ Χριστὸν ἡλικίαν καὶ γίνεται εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ (Eph. 4:13).

ἡ γοῦν καθαρτικὴ τῶν ἤδη πρὸς ἀγῶνας ἱεροῦς εἰσαγομένων ἐστὶν καὶ ἴδιον μὲν αὐτῆς ἡ ἀπόθεσις τῆς μορφῆς τοῦ χοϊκοῦ ἀνθρώπου (1 Cor. 15:49), ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις πάσης προσύλου κακίας καὶ ἡ ἀμφίσις τοῦ καινοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ διὰ πνεύματος ἀνακαινιζομένου ἁγίου (Col. 3:9–10). ἔργον δὲ τὸ μῖσος τῆς ὕλης, ἡ τηξίς τῆς σαρκός, ἡ φυγὴ πάσης αἰτίας ἐρεθιζούσης πρὸς πάθη τὸ λογιζόμενον, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς πλημμελῶς πεπραγμένοις μεταμέλεια, πρὸς δὲ τὸ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἀποκλύσασθαι τὴν ἄλμην τῆς ἁμαρτίας, τὸ τὰ ἥθη χρηστότητι ρυθμῆσαι τοῦ πνεύματος καὶ τὸ (137<sup>v</sup>) ἐντὸς τοῦ ποτηρίου (Mt. 23:26) διὰ κατανύξεως ἐκκαθᾶραι παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς τε καὶ πνεύματος (2 Cor. 7:1) καὶ οὕτως τὸν οἶνον τοῦ λόγου βαλεῖν ἐν αὐτῷ τὸν εὐφραίνοντα καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου καθαιρομένου καὶ προσαγαγεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν πνευμάτων εἰς γεῦσιν. τέλος δὲ τῷ πυρωθῆναι ἐμπράκτως τῷ πυρὶ τῆς ἀσκήσεως καὶ



τοῖς πόνοις τῶν ἀγώνων πάντα ἰὸν ἀποσεύσασθαι ἁμαρτίας στομωθῆναι τε καλῶς καὶ βαφῆναι τῷ τῆς κατανύξεως ὕδατι καὶ ξῖφος ἀποτελεσθῆναι τομὸν κατὰ παθῶν καὶ δαιμόνων εἰς δύναμιν. ὁ εἰς τοῦτο φθάσας διὰ πολλῶν ἀγώνων ἀσκήσεως ἔσβεσε δύναμιν ἐμφύτου πυρός, ἔφραξε στόματα λεόντων ἀγρίων παθῶν, ἐνεδυναμώθη τῷ πνεύματι ἀπὸ ἀσθενείας (*Heb.* 11:33–34), ἐγένετο ἰσχυρὸς καὶ ὥσει τις ἄλλος Αὐσίτης (*Job* 1:1) τρόπαιον ὑπομονῆς ἔστησε νενικηκὼς τὸν πειράζοντα.

Ἡ δὲ φωτιστικὴ τῶν ἐξ ἱερῶν ἀγώνων προκοψάντων ἐστὶν εἰς πρώτην ἀπάθειαν καὶ ἴδιον μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ὄντων, ἡ θεωρία τῶν λόγων τῆς κτίσεως καὶ ἡ μετουσία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος. ἔργον δὲ ἡ κάθαρσις τοῦ νοδὸς ἡ δι(138<sup>γ</sup>)ὰ τοῦ πυρός γινομένη τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡ τῶν νοερῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τῆς καρδίας νοερὰ ἀποκάλυψις, καὶ ἡ τοῦ λόγου γέννησις μεθ' ὑψηλῶν τῶν νοημάτων τῆς γνώσεως. τέλος δὲ ὁ διατρανὼν λόγος τῆς σοφίας τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὄντων, ἡ ἐπίγνωσις τῶν θείων καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων καὶ ἡ ἀποκάλυψις τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν. ὁ εἰς τοῦτο φθάσας διὰ νοερᾶς τοῦ νοδὸς ἐργασίας ἄρματι πυρός (2 *Kgs* 2:11) ἐποχεῖται τετρακτύϊ τῶν ἀρετῶν, ὥσει τις ἄλλος Θεσβίτης καὶ ἔτι ζῶν εἰς ἀέρα τὸν νοητὸν αἴρεται, καὶ περιπολεῖ τὰ οὐρανία ὑπεράνω τῆς τοῦ σώματος γεγωνῶς ταπεινώσεως.

Ἡ μυστικὴ δὲ τελειοποιὸς τάξις τῶν ἤδη πάντα διαδραμόντων ἐστὶν καὶ εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἐλθόντων Χριστοῦ. καὶ ἴδιον μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ διατεμεῖν τὸν ἀέρα καὶ τοῦ παντὸς ὑπερκύψαι, τὸ περὶ τὰς ἄνω τάξεις γενέσθαι τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ φωτὶ πλησιάσαι καὶ τὰ βάθη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐρευνῆσαι (1 *Cor.* 2:3) διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος. ἔργον δὲ τὸ πληρῶσαι τὸν θεατὴν τῶν τοιούτων νοῦν τῶν περὶ προνοίας λόγων τῶν πε(138<sup>ν</sup>)ρὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀληθείας, τῶν περὶ λύσεως αἰνιγμάτων καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ σκοτεινῶν λόγων τῆς θείας γραφῆς. τέλος δὲ τὸ μυσταγωγῆσαι τὸν οὕτω τελεσμένον τὰ ἀπόκρυφα μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ, τὸ σοφίας ἑαυτὸν πληρῶσαι ἀρρήτου διὰ συνουσίας τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ σοφὸν θεολόγον μιᾶς ἐκκλησίας μεγάλης ἀποδεῖξαι Θεοῦ τῷ λόγῳ τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς θεολογίας.

## Text 29

**Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (*scil.* John Chrysostom)· inc. Διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν** (ff. 189<sup>v</sup>–190<sup>v</sup>)

For this text, see Chapter 5.

Text 30

**Γινώμαι τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρκου τοῦ Ἑφεσίων· Περὶ ὅρου ζωῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως (ff. 190<sup>v</sup>–192<sup>v</sup>)**

a. (f. 191<sup>r</sup> l. 2–6) Περὶ μὲν τοῦ προορισμοῦ κρίνει ὅτι μόνα τὰ τῶν δικαίων τῶν τὸν θεὸν εὐαρεστούντων εἰσὶν προωρισμένα, καὶ θάνατοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς /αὐτῶν cod./, καὶ ταῦτα εἰσὶν τὰ κατ' εὐδοκίαν γενόμενα, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὅσα κατὰ παραχώρησιν ἢ κατὰ συγχώρησιν ἢ κατὰ ἐγκατάλειψιν γίνονται, καὶ οὐκ εἰσὶν προωρισμένα.

b. (ff. 191<sup>r</sup> l. 7–192<sup>v</sup> l. 7) Περὶ δὲ τῆς αἰωνίου κολάσεως λέγει ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐστὶ μὲν ὢν, ἔστι δὲ ἀγαθός. τὰ δυὸ ταῦτα ὀνόματα πάντων ἐστὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγομένων κυριωτάτα τε καὶ περιεκτικώτατα. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἀκούοντες τὸν θεόν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν εὐθὺς ἐρχόμεθα τῆς μακαρίας οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καθ' ἣν αἰδίως ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν γνῶσιν, ὅλον ἐν ἑαυτῷ συλλαβὼν τὸ εἶναι καθάπερ τι πέλαγος ἅπειρον καὶ ἀόριστον· ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἀκούοντες, ἐνέργειάν τινα νοοῦμεν πρὸς ἅπειρον<sup>3</sup> τείνουσαν, εἴπερ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τισὶν ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, καὶ συνεισάγει πρὸς ἃ λέγεται. ἄμφω τοίνυν τὰ θεῖα ταῦτα ὀνόματα, τὸ μὲν τὴν οὐσίαν, τὸ δὲ τὴν (191<sup>v</sup>) ἐνέργειαν τοῦ θεοῦ σημαῖνον διαιροῦνται, τὸ μὲν εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, αἱ δὴ καλοῦνται πατήρ, υἱὸς καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ δὲ εἰς πολλὰς καὶ διαφορὰς δυνάμεις καὶ ἐνεργείας. καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν διαιρέσεων τρισυπόστατος ὁ θεός, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑτέραν παντοδύναμος ἐστὶ καὶ λέγεται. καὶ τῇ θελήσει μετρούμενας αἰετὰς δυνάμεις ἔχει καὶ προαγομένης εἰς τὴν ἐνέργειαν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν χρηστότητα καὶ φιланθρωπίαν τῇ παρούσῃ ζωῇ συνεκλήρωσε· καὶ πολλαχόθεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ προβιβάζει καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀναστέλλει· νόμον ἔδωκεν εἰς βοήθειαν· ἀγγέλους ἐπέστησε φύλακας· πρὸ τούτων τὸ συνειδὸς ἡμῖν ἐγκατέσπειρεν ἔνοικόν<sup>4</sup> τινα τῶν πραττομένων δοκιμαστήν· προφήτας ἔπεμψε· σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα δι' αὐτῶν κατὰ γενεὰς εἰργάσατο· καὶ τέλος τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἔδωκεν· καὶ μέλη αὐτοῦ τοὺς εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας ποιησάμενος πνεύματος ἁγίου χά(192<sup>r</sup>)ριν καὶ δύνάμιν ἔπεμψεν καὶ τὴν διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου βαπτίσματος ἀναγέννησιν ἔδωρήσατο, καὶ οὕτως υἱοὺς θεοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμους τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κατεστήσατο. εἰ τοίνυν μετὰ τοσαύτας εὐεργεσίας ἀχάριστοι γεγονότες ἀθετήσαμεν τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν πίστιν καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ κατεφρονήσαμεν, καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ ἐν ᾧ ὑγιασθημεν κοινὸν ἡγησάμεθα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτος ἐνυβρίσαμεν, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ δίκαιον αὐτοῦ φανῆναι καὶ τὸν τῆς δίκης ἐπιστῆναι καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ τὰ κατ' ἀξίαν ἕκαστος τῶν βεβιωμένων αὐτοῦ λήψεται; οὕτω γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ δικαίου λόγος οὐ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μόνον τὰ γέρα καὶ τὰς τιμὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς φαύλοις ἀποδιδόναι τὴν πρέπουσαν δίκην. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ ἁμαρτωλὸς προετίμησε τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγάπης ἡδονὴν τινα κατὰ πάθος ἢ ἀνθρωπίνην εὐημερίαν καὶ δόξαν ἢ ὅλως τι τῶν προσκαιρῶν, δηλὸν (192<sup>v</sup>) οὖν ὅτι προετίμησεν αὐτὰ οὐχ ὥς πρόσκαιρα ταχὺ παρερχόμενα, ἀλλ' ὥς καθέξει αὐτὰ διὰ παντός, εἴπερ ἡδύνατο, καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ θεοῦ καταφρονήσων. ὁ δὲ θεός

<sup>3</sup> ἅπειρον] ἕτερον cod.

<sup>4</sup> οἶκον cod.

αὐτῷ λόγος ἄλλος καὶ καινὸν ὄνομα. δίκαιον οὖν ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ κρίσιν τοῦ μὲν θεοῦ διηνεκῶς ἐκπεσεῖν οὐπὲρ εἴλετο διηνεκῶς καταφρονεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ὁ τοῦ δικαίου σώζεται λόγος.

## Text 31

**Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (scil. Mark Eugenikos)· Ἀναλογία τῶν ἀπειλουμένων κολάσεων πρὸς τὰ ἁμαρτήματα** (ff. 192<sup>v</sup>–193<sup>r</sup>)

Σκότος ἐστὶ βαθὺ καὶ ἐξώτερον (*Mt.* 22:13) τοῖς τὸ ἔνδον ἀγαπήσασιν σκότος τῆς ἀγνωσίας καὶ πρὸς τὰς θείας αὐγάς ἀτενίσαι μὴ βουληθεῖσι· καὶ σκώληξ (*Mk.* 9:48) ἰοβόλος τοῖς τὴν ἡδονὴν τῆς σαρκὸς περὶ πολλοῦ τεθειμένοις καὶ τῷ βορβόρῳ τῶν παθῶν ἐγκαλινθηθεῖσι· καὶ Τάρταρος τοῖς ἐψυγμένοις περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγάπης· καὶ πῦρ ἀφεγγὲς τοῖς ἐκκεκαυμένοις ὑπὸ θυμοῦ καὶ μανικοῦ τὸν τρόπον καὶ θηριώδεις· καὶ βρυγμὸς ὀδόντων (*Mt.* loc.cit.) τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ κακήγορα (193<sup>r</sup>) φθεγγομένοις καὶ πᾶν ὃ τύχη προσεῖσι τοῦ στόματος. εἰ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἔσται τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι (1 *Cor.* 15:28; *Eph.* 1:23), τοῖς ἐκπεσοῦσι θεοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο λείπεται πλην ἢ κακία μόνη, κακία δὲ ἡδονῆς ἀφηρημένης κόλασις ἐστὶν ψυχῆς ὥσπερ ἡ νόσος τοῦ σώματος.

## Text 32

**Problem, inc. Ἀπορία πῶς ἀνέχεται** (f. 193<sup>r-v</sup>)

Ἀπορία πῶς ἀνέχεται ὁ θεὸς ἀπολωλέναι κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην τοσοῦτον πληθὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐν ἁμαρτίας ἐκάστοτε τὴν ζωὴν ἀνυόντων.<sup>5</sup>

Λύσις·

Ποῖον πληθὸς εἶπέ μοι λέγεις; καὶ καλοὶ ἐδόκει πληθὸς εἶναι. θεῷ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούεις ὅτι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ὡς σταγὼν ἀπὸ κάδδου, καὶ ὡς σῖελος<sup>6</sup> ἐλογίσθησαν (*Is.* 40:15); οὐκ ἐννοεῖς τὸ ἀνυπερβλήτον μέγεθος τῆς θείας δυνάμεως; οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· ὁ κατέχων τὸν γύρον τῆς γῆς καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ὥσει ἀκρίδας (*Is.* 40:22). πόσας εἶπέ μοι ψύλλας<sup>7</sup> ἐκ τῆς σαρκός, ἢ κάμπας ἐκ τῶν λαχάνων ἀπεριμερίμωως διέφθειρας; ἀνθρώπου δὲ τὸ μὲν κατ’ εἰκόνα φυλάξαντος ἀκραιφνῶς καὶ θεῷ δι’ ἀρετῆς ἑαυτὸν οἰκειώσαντος, οὐ (193<sup>v</sup>) δὲ ὁ πᾶς κόσμος ἀντάξιός. ἀποστάντος δὲ τῆς θείας μερίδος καὶ πρὸς τὴν κτηνώδη ζωὴν ὀλισθήσαντος, αἰρετότερος παρὰ θεῷ σκώληξ, ὃς τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τηρῶν. *ἄνδρα αἱμάτων καὶ δόλιον βδελύσσεται κύριος (Ps. 5:7)*. οὐχ ὅρας τὸν νεκρὸν ὡς βδελυσσόμεθα πάντες, καὶ τῇ γῇ συγκρῦπτομεν, ἵνα μὴ σκωλήκων, καὶ ἰχώρων, καὶ δυσωδίας καὶ σήπewος

<sup>5</sup> ἡνυόντων cod.

<sup>6</sup> ὡς σῖελος] ὥσει ἔλος cod.

<sup>7</sup> ψυχᾶς cod.

ἐκπλήρησεν πάντα,<sup>8</sup> τοιοῦτόν ἐστι θεῶ, ψυχὴν νευρωθείσαν δι' ἁμαρτίας, καὶ τῆς θείας  
ζωῆς ἐκουσίως ἑαυτὴν χωρίσασαν.

## Text 33

### Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν θεοτόκον (ff. 193<sup>v</sup>–194<sup>v</sup>)

Παντάνασσα, πανύμνητε, παρθενομήτορ κόρη,  
ἡμῶν ῥημάτων ἄκουσον καὶ πρόσχες μου τοῖς λόγοις.  
ἶδε δακρύων σταλαγμούς, ἶδε τοὺς στεναγμούς μου,  
ἶδε τὴν λύπην τῆς ψυχῆς, ἶδε καὶ μὴ παρίδης.  
Οὐ φέρω τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς Σατάν τοῦ βροτοκτόνου,  
οὐ φέρω τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, οὐ φέρω τὴν κακίαν,  
οὐ στέργω τούτου μηχανάς, ἐνέδρας, λόχους, δόλους.  
(194<sup>v</sup>) οὐχ ὑπομένειν δύναμαι τὴν πλάνην, τὴν ἀπάτην.  
βιάζει καὶ πειράζει με νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν,  
τοξεύει, βάλλει βέλεσιν ἀτόπων λογισμῶν με,  
ἄγρεύει καὶ θηρεύει με πράξεσιν ἀθεμίτοις.  
εἰς ἀπωλείας βάραθρον καθέλκει, συνωθεῖ με.  
ψυχῆς τὰς κόρας ἔσβεσεν, ἡμαύρωσε τὸν νοῦν μου,  
τὸ σῶμα κατερρύπωσεν, ἐσπίλωσεν τὸ πνεῦμα.  
ἐξέδυσέ με τὴν λαμπρὰν στολὴν τῆς σωφροσύνης,  
ἐνέδυσέ με ῥυπαρὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας σάκκον.  
ἐσύλησεν, ἀφήρπασεν τὸν πλοῦτον τῆς ψυχῆς μου,  
τὰ δῶρα, τὰ χαρίσματα τὰ πρὸς θεοῦ δοθέντα  
καὶ πένητα κατέστησε παντοδαπῶν καλῶν με.  
Λοιπὸν ἀγνὴ πανάχραντε, Χριστιανῶν προστάτις,  
τῶν θλιβομένων χαρμονή, λιμὴν χειμαζομένων,  
τὸ πάντων καταφύγιον τῶν καταπορουμένων,  
ἢ τὸν Χριστὸν κυήσασα τοῦ κόσμου τὸν δεσπότην  
καὶ γαλακτοτροφήσασα τὸν τρέφοντα τὴν κτίσιν  
ἐλέ(194<sup>v</sup>)ησον, οἰκτείρησον τὸν σὸν ἀχρεῖον δοῦλον  
τὸν οὕτω δράσαντα κακῶς, καὶ ταπεινώσαντά με  
ταπεινώσον. κατὰβαλε καὶ σύντριπον ἐν τάχει  
καὶ δός μοι τὴν συνχώρησιν τῶν πρώην ἐσφαλμένων  
καὶ τὴν ἀντίληψιν τὴν σὴν καὶ σκέπην μέχρι τέλους,  
καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει δὲ ἀγνὴ μεσίτις καὶ προστάτις  
ἐξαιρουμένη με ἐκεῖ πρὸς τοῦ αἰωνίου,  
ὅπως ὑμῶν καὶ εὐλογῶ σε τὴν ἐμὴν προστάτιν  
καὶ μεγαλύνω διὰ σοῦ τὸν πλάστην καὶ θεόν μου,  
καὶ νῦν καὶ πάντοτε ἀεὶ εἰς πάντα τοὺς αἰῶνας.

<sup>8</sup> πάντας cod.

## Text 35

**Sayings by Maximos, Demosthenes, et al.** (ff. 195<sup>v</sup>–196<sup>r</sup>)

[1.] **Τοῦ ἁγίου Μαξίμου** περὶ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς· λόγου, θυμοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμίας.

Τὸ θυμικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγάπῃ χαλίνωσον καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν αὐτῆς ἐγκρατεία μάρανον καὶ τὸ λογιστικὸν αὐτῆς θεωρεία πτέρωσον· καὶ τὸ φῶς τοῦ νοῦ οὐκ ἀμαυροῦται ποτε.

[2.] **Τοῦ Δημοσθένους**· Τέλος μὲν ἀπάσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῦ βίου θάνατος, κἂν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τις αὐτὸν καθείρξας τηρῇ.<sup>9</sup> χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρεῖν μὲν ἀεὶ τοῖς καλοῖς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν προβαλλομένους ἐλπίδα, φέρειν δ' ὅτι ἂν ὁ θεὸς δῶ γενναίως.

[3.] **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ**· Ἔστι μὲν γάρ, ἔστι πάσης ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ μὲν σύνεσις, πέρας δ' ἀνδρεία.

[4.] **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ**· Τὸ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ<sup>10</sup> τοῦ<sup>11</sup> κακῶς φρονεῖν περὶ τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται.

[5.] **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ**· Δεῖ δὴ χρημάτων, καὶ ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων.

[6.] **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ**· Πρῶτον μὲν εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νῦν δὲ συνάγεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας.

[7.] (196<sup>r</sup>) **Τοῦ αὐτοῦ**· Φύσει γὰρ τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων.

[8.] **Βρούτου**· Ὡς τλημῶν ἀρετῇ, ἐγὼ μὲν σε ὥς ἔργον ἥσκουν.<sup>12</sup> σὺ δ' ἐδούλευες τύχῃ.

[9.] Ὅπου γὰρ εἰσέρευσεν τοῦ πλούτου χάρις, ἐκεῖ φρενῶν ἐβλυσεν ὄντως ὀξύτης· εἰ γὰρ μερὶς λάβοι σε τῶν πενεσθέρων ἂν καὶ Σολομῶν κατὰ τὰς φρένας γένοις, ἕξοιχος ὅστις τοῖς πᾶσι χρηματίσης.

[10.] **Ἀριστοτέλους**· Ὅμοιον ἔστι τὸ ὑποτάσσεσθαι τινὰ εἰς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, ὥς τὸ μὴ ὑποτάσσεσθαι εἰς ἃ δεῖ.

## Text 38

**A gnology derived from Constantine Manasses' *Synopsis Chronike***  
(ff. 197<sup>r</sup>–199<sup>v</sup>)

1) [272–276]

Οὕτως οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπαθοῦς ψυχῆς κατακαυχᾶται,  
οὐ θήρ, οὐ πῦρ, οὐ ποταμοῦ μεγαλοδούπου θράσος.

<sup>9</sup> τηρῇ] θυρί cod.

<sup>10</sup> ἀφορμῇ] ἀφορμὴν cod.

<sup>11</sup> τοῦ] τοῖς cod.

<sup>12</sup> ἥσκουν] ἥσχουν cod.

κἄν βασιλεύεις τῶν παθῶν, ἂν ἁμαρτίας ἄρχεις,  
καὶ βασιλίσκων καὶ δεινῶν σκορπίων ἐπιβήση  
καὶ ταπεινώσεις λέοντα καὶ τίγριν ἡμερώσεις.

2) [780–782 + 956–957]

Ἄλλ' ἔσφαλλεν, ὥς ἔοικε, τούτους ἰσχυρὸς ἢ θεία,  
καὶ τὴν λαμπρότητα τὴν πρὶν αὐτοῖς ἐλπιζομένην  
ἐν τοῖς παιγνίοις ἔφασαν ἐκβῆναι τὸ παιδίον.  
ἀλλ' ἦν οὐδέν, ὥς ἔοικε, μόνιμον ἐν τῷ βίῳ,  
οὐ πλοῦτος, οὐ βασίλειον κράτος, οὐ δυναστεία.

3) [1157–60; 1162–67]

Ἦν ἡ γυνὴ περικαλλής, εὖοφρος, εὐχρυστάτη,  
εὐπάρειος, εὐπρόσωπος, βοῶπις, χιονόχρους,  
ἐλικοβλέφαρος, ἄβρά, χαρίτων γέμον ἄλσος  
λευκοβραχίων, τρυφερά, κάλλος ἄντικρυς ἔμπνουν,  
τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπίχαρι, τὸ βλέφαρον ὥραϊον,  
κάλλος ἀνεπιτήδευτον, αὐτόβαφον, αὐτόχρουν·  
ἐβάπτε τὴν λευκότητα ῥοδόχροια πυρίνη,  
ὥς εἴ τις τὸν ἐλέφαντα βάψει λαμπρᾷ πορφύρᾳ,  
δειρὴ μακρά, κατάλευκος, ὅθεν ἐμυθουργήθη  
κυκνογενῆτιν εὖοπτον Ἑλένην χρηματίζειν.

4) [1327–28]

ὦ δυστυχῆς ἀλήθεια, σὲ καὶ πενθῶ καὶ στένω  
σὺ γάρ μου προαπόλωλας καὶ προεθανατώθης.

5) [1403–09]

ὦς εἶδον οὖν ὠλόλυξαν καὶ προσπесῶν τῷ στήθει  
Αἴας ὁ μέγας ἐν κλαυθμῷ πρὸς τὸν Πηλέως ἔφη  
«ἦν ἄρα πολεμόκλονε καὶ γίγα βριαρόχειρ,  
ὃς ἀνελεῖν ἠδύνατο τὸν θυμολέοντά σε.»  
ὁ δ' ἁμαυρὸν ἐφώνησε καὶ παρακεκομμένον  
«ἀνεῖλόν με Διήφοβος καὶ Πάρις μετὰ δόλου»,  
καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξέπνευσεν ὁ τηλικούτος ἦρως.

6) [2078–79]

Ἄμῃς καὶ ποτιστήριον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑέλου,  
ποδονιπτῆρ καὶ κύπελλον ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν χωμάτων.

7) [2529–32]

ὦς ἄρα τὸ χρηστότροπον ἔστι κἂν τοῖς βαρβάροις,  
καὶ τὴν φιλίαν ἄτρωτον καὶ τὴν φιλαλληλίαν  
οἶδεν ἀνὴρ ἀλλόγλωσσος ἀθόλωτον φυλάσσειν·  
τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐκ φύσεως ἅπασιν ἐνεσπάρη.

8) [2600–2607]

Ἄλλ' ἦν οὐδέν, ὥς ἔοικεν, εὐτύχημα τοῦ βίου

ζάλης καὶ λύπης ἀμιγές, οὐδέ τις εὐποτμία  
μὴ συναναφύμενον ἔχουσα καὶ τὸ κνίζον·  
καὶ γὰρ καὶ ῥόδον εὖοσμον φρίσσει πυκνὰς ἀκάνθας  
ἡλίου τε τὸ βλέφαρον σκοτίζουσι νεφέλαι  
καὶ φθόνος ἐπιφύεται τοῖς τὸ καλὸν ἀσκοῦσι  
καὶ πᾶν εὐτύχημα λαμπρόν, πᾶν τὸ σεμνὸν τοῦ βίου  
φέρει καὶ τὸ δυστύχημα συνανακεκραμένον.

9) [2693–2695]

Ὡς ἄρα γε τρισεῦδαιμον καὶ μέρος εὐποτμίας  
εὖνοις ἀνθρώποις συνοικεῖν καὶ καθαρῶς φιλοῦσι  
καὶ μὴ καταρρυπαίνουσι τὰ τῆς φιλαλληλίας.

10) [2792–2796]

Τὸν γὰρ θεοῦ ταῖς κραταιαῖς φρουρούμενον παλάμαις  
τίς ἂν ἰσχύσειε θνητῶν ὀλέσαι πρὸ τῆς ὥρας;  
ἂν ἢ θεοῦ μεγαλαλκῆς χεῖρ σε περιφρουροίῃ,  
οὐ δειλιάσεις σίδηρον, οὐ ξίφος ὑποτρέσεις,  
οὐ πῦρ, οὐ θυμοβάρβαρον, οὐ μαιφόνον ἦθος.

11) [2819–2820]

Οὕτω πολλάκις ταπεινοὺς ἐργάζεται τὸ κέρδος,  
οὕτως ἐλπίδες πλάζουσι τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φρένας.

12) [2846–2848]

Ὡς ἄρα πᾶς τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸ χρήμα δυσωπεῖται,  
ἀλλογενής, ἰθαγενής, Ἑλλην, ἀλλόθρους, Σκύθης·  
μόνη γὰρ δύναται κοσμεῖν τοὺς ἐραστὰς καὶ σφύζειν.

13) [2873–2877]

Ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτατον τὸ σθένος τοῦ χρυσίου,  
ἀλλὰ δυναμικώτατον μυρίων στρατευμάτων·  
Τοῦτο καὶ πόλιν εὐπυργον ἐκ βάθρων ἀνασκάπτει,  
τοῦτο καὶ δόμους ὄλλυσι, τοῦτο κἂν τοῖς πολέμοις  
ὄλων ἐθνῶν ἀφανισμὸν καινοτομεῖν ἰσχύει.

14) [2925–2926]

Ὡς ἄρα τιμιώτερον ψυχῆς οὐδὲν ἀνθρώποις  
οὐ κράτος τὸ βασίλειον, οὐ θάλασσα χρημάτων.

15) [2959–2960]

Ἀλλὰ τὴν ἄμαχον ἰσχὺν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας  
οὐδεὶς ἰσχύσει γηγενῆς ἄπρακτον ἀπελέγξει.

16) [2980–2982]

Οὕτως οὐκ οἶδεν εὐσεβῆς αἰδεῖσθαι βασιλέας,  
ὅτε πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν κίνδυνος ἀνατρέχει,  
οὐδὲ λαμβάνει πρόσωπον, οὐδὲ δυνάστας τρέμει.

17) [3024–3025]

Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ πάντα τὰ κακὰ πρόσσεστι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,  
ἀλλὰ συμβαίνονται ποτε καὶ βέλτιστα κακίστοις.

18) [3062–3063]

Οὕτω πᾶσιν ἐπέραστος ἡ σκηπτοκρατορία,  
κάνταῦθα μόνον ἀδικεῖ οὐδ' εἰς τι κατοκνήσει.

19) [3101–3104]

Οὕτω τι πρᾶγμα δύσμαχον ἢ εὐπραγία πέλει  
καὶ φίλους οἶδε καθιστᾶν τοὺς πρώην μισουμένους  
ἐφέλκεται τε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὥς σίδηρον μαγνήτις.  
δειγμα χρηστότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ τρόπου φιλανθρώπου.

20) [3497–3515]

Χρυσὲ διῶκτα, τύραννε, πάντολμε, δολοπλόκε,  
πάντων κακῶν ἀκρόπολις, πάντων κακῶν ἡ ῥίζα,  
ἐλέπολις, ῥινεπαλξις, σπαράκτρια τειχέων,  
πόλεων τειχοσείστρια, τινάκτρια δωμάτων,  
οἷσις κακοῖς τοὺς γηγενεῖς κριοκοπεῖς καὶ τρύχεις.  
οὐδὲν ἀνθαμιλλᾶται σοι, πραγμάτων τῶν ἐν βίῳ,  
οὐδὲν ἀντισφερίζει σοι πάντων τῶν ἐπιγείων.  
μαλθάσσεις τὸν ἀμάλακτον, τὸν μαλακὸν σκληρύνεις,  
γλῶσσαν ἀνοίγεις ἄφωνον, λάλον ἐπιστομίζεις,  
ποιεῖς βραδὺν τὸν δρομικόν, πτηνόπουν τὸν ἀργόπουν.  
πειράζεις γὰρ καὶ θέλγητρον ἐπάγεις τὰς καρδίας  
καὶ γοητεύεις ἕνξιν ἀφύκτοις τὰς αἰσθήσεις.  
ἀλλὰ σου τὸ καλλίχροον ὥς ἔχιδνα φαρμάσσει,  
θεσμούς καὶ νόμους συμπατῶν καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ διώκεις,  
τυμβωρυχεῖς, τοιχορυχεῖς, ἀπεμπολεῖς, προδίδως.  
λῆρος τὸ κομψευόμενον, ὥς ἔοικε, καὶ μῦθος,  
ὥς ἄρα τὸν ἀδάμαντα μόνον αἶμα μαλθάσσει·  
τί γάρ σου δραστικώτερον καὶ λίθους ἀπαλύνειν;  
τί γάρ τὴν ὑπερίσχυρον ἰσχύν σου διαφεύγει;

## Text 41

**Inc.** Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (ff. 206<sup>v</sup> l. 2–207<sup>v</sup>)

A later hand has attributed the text to Mark Eugenikos: Μαρκος ὁ φεσηςος ἀποφαση του πατριαρχου.

Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνὴν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν τοῦ υἱοῦ, πάντα γὰρ ἔχει μετὰ τοῦ πατρός. κατ' οὐδένα δὲ τρόπον σαλεύεσθαι παρά τινος ἀντεχόμεθα τὴν ὀρισθεῖσαν πίστιν καὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον παρὰ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν οὔτε μὴν ἐπιτρέπομεν



ἐαυτοῖς ἢ ἐτέροις, ἢ λέξιν κοινήν <ἀμεῖναι>.<sup>13</sup> *Μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου* (Prov. 22:28), οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτοὶ οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατὴρ δὲ ἐκπορεύεται μὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἔστιν δὲ οὐκ ἀλλότριον κατὰ τὸν τῆς οὐσίας λόγον· ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μὲν ἐκπορεύεται τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, ἔστιν δὲ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἴδιον.

Καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ζωοποιῶ προσκυνουμένῳ τῷ ἐκπορευομένῳ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, τουτέστιν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ πατρὸς· οὐ γεννητῶς καθάπερ ὁ υἱὸς ἵνα μὴ δύο υἱοὶ ἐν τῇ τριάδι, ἀλλ’ ἐκπορευτῶς, καθάπερ εἴρηται, ἐκ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπὸ στόματος, πεφηνότι δὲ δι’ υἱοῦ καὶ λαλήσαντι<sup>14</sup> ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις πᾶσι προφήταις καὶ ἀποστόλοις.<sup>15</sup>

(207<sup>1</sup>) Σκόπει τοίνυν καὶ τί τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τὰ κτιστὰ πάντα δυναμοὶ ἐν πατρὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ· οὐ μὴν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκπόρευσιν διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἔχει. ἥτις δὴ ἐκπόρευσις καὶ τρόπος ἐστὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ παναγίου πνεύματος· ἡ μέντοι ἔκφανσις αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόοδος, ἡ ἐπέμφσις καὶ ἡ χορηγία, αἱ οὐχὶ τρόποι εἰσὶν ὑπάρξεως καὶ διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ· ὥστε, εἰ καὶ πού τῶν πατέρων, ἴσθι, εἴρηκε ἐκ πατρὸς δι’ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεσθαι, οὐκ ἀποδεξόμεθα μὲν, δι’ οἰκονομίαν δὲ εὐσεβῶς οὕτω νοήσωμεν ἐκ πατρὸς μὲν ἐκπορεύεσθαι, δι’ υἱοῦ δὲ τοῖς ἀξίοις χορηγεῖσθαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀνάλογον ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ δοίης· οὐχ ὁμώνυμον αὐτὴν τὴν λέξιν αὐτὴν καὶ μίαν λαμβάνομεν. καὶ ἴσως καὶ οὕτως τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον φημι ἐκ πατρὸς μόνου ἐκπορεύεσθαι ὁμολογουμένως. λέγεται δὲ ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τὸ αἷτιον αὐτοῦ εἶναι υἱοῦ· πατὴρ γὰρ υἱοῦ λέγεται πατὴρ ὡς τῶν πρὸς τι· οὐ μὴν πατὴρ ἐκπορευτοῦ· διὰ τοῦτο φημι ἐκ πατρὸς διὰ τοῦ υἱοῦ αἰτίαν ἵνα δηλώσω ὅτι ὁ τὸν υἱὸν γεννήσας, αὐτὸς καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύει. οὕτω κυρίως ἔδει εἰπεῖν· (207<sup>2</sup>) τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκπορεύεται ἐκ τοῦ ἐκπορεύοντος, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ πατήρ. διὰ δὲ τοῦ γνωριμοτέρως εἶναι πατὴρ ὄνομα ἔθετο τοῦτο. προσγενόμενον καὶ διὰ υἱοῦ, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αἰτίαν ὥσπερ εἰρήκαμεν. τέως ἡμεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνου γινώσκομεν ἐκπορεύεσθαι, λέγομεν δὲ αὐτὸ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, ὡς φησὶν ὁ ἀπόστολος· *ἐξαπέστειλεν<sup>16</sup> ὁ θεὸς τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ κραζόν ἄββα ὁ πατήρ* (Gal. 4:6).<sup>17</sup> ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ δὲ αὐτὸ εἶναι λέγομεν, ὡς Νυσσαεὺς Γρηγόριος, κἂν τινες ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ λέγειν δισχυρίζοντες, τὰ θεῖα παρεξηγούμενοι. ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας μὲν τοῦ υἱοῦ ὁ μέγας τοῦτο φησὶ Κύριλλος, ὅπερ εἶναι λαβὴν<sup>18</sup> τινὰ τοῖς ἐναντίοις δίδωσιν.<sup>19</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές· καὶ γὰρ φησιν ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, “οὗ γὰρ ἂν ἔχει τὸ εἶναι ὁ υἱὸς, ἐκείθεν καὶ τοῦτο,” ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς δηλαδή, ἐκ τῆς θεϊκῆς οὐσίας. ἅμφω γὰρ καὶ ἅμα ἀχρόνως ἀναιτίως ἀφράστως ἀπερινοήτως ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς προήλθε, τὸ μὲν γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευτῶς.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Mark Eug. *Testimonia spiritum sanctum ex patre procedere probantia* 77; Cyril. Alex. *Ep. ad Ioannem Antiochenum*, PG 77, 180D.

<sup>14</sup> λαλήσεται cod.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Mark Eug. *Testimonia spiritum sanctum ex patre procedere probantia* 78; Athan. *Sermo contra latinos*; PG 28, 285.

<sup>16</sup> ἐξαποστελεῖ cod.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *Acta Graecorum concilii Florentini* II, 6, 342 (ὁ Ἐφέσου).

<sup>18</sup> λαβεῖν cod.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Acta Graecorum concilii Florentini* II, 7, 379 (ὁ Ἐφέσου).

Text 48

**A florilegium, inc. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεῖς** (f. 238<sup>r</sup>–247<sup>v</sup>)

A title was added by a later hand: ἀρχ(ή) την μέλησα κατὰ ἀλφαβητο τον φρονιμον ἰ λογη.

- [1.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεῖς, πῶς τοσούτων ἐθνῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις χρόνοις ἐκράτησεν, ἔφη· “μηδὲν ἐς αὔριον ἀναβαλόμενος.”
- [2.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεῖς “ποῦ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἔχεις;” ἔφη· “ἐν ταῖς τῶν φίλων διανοίαις.”
- [3.] Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτήσας τινὰ φιλόσοφον ὅτι ἡ γῆ ἢ ἡ θάλασσα πλείονα ζῶα ἔχει, εἶπεν· “ἡ γῆ, καὶ γὰρ ἡ θάλασσα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστίν.”
- [4.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεῖς, τίνα μᾶλλον ποθεῖ, τὸν πατέρα Φίλιππον ἢ Ἀριστοτέλην τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἔφη· “τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἐπεὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αἴτιος τοῦ γεννηῆσαι, ὁ δὲ διδάσκαλος τοῦ καλῶς γενέσθαι πρόξενος.”
- [5.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν Διογένην ἐν πίθῳ κοιμώμενον ἔφη· “χαῖρε πίθε μεστὲ φρενῶν.” ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ἔφη· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κρεῖσσον σταλαγμοῦ τύχην ἢ φρενῶν πίθου, ἥς μὴ παρούσης δυστυχοῦσιν αἱ φρένες.”
- [6.] Ὁ αὐτὸς ἐρωτηθεῖς τί ἐστι φίλος ἔφη· “μία ψυχὴ ἐν δυσὶ σώμασιν οἰκοῦσα.”
- [7.] Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης κρεῖττον ἔφη εἶναι ἓνα φίλον ἔχειν πολλῶν ἄξιον ἢ πολλοὺς μηδενὸς ἀξίους.
- [8.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἔφη· “ἄμεινον ἐστὶν ἄρχειν θηρῶν ἢ ἀνθρώπων κακῶν.”
- [9.] (238<sup>v</sup>) Ἀ μὲν ἐπίστασαι, διαφύλαττε ταῖς μελέταις, ἃ δὲ <μὴ> μεμάθηκας, προσλάμβανε ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις· ὁμοίως γάρ ἐστι κακὸν ἀκούσαντα χρήσιμον λόγον μὴ μαθεῖν καὶ διδόμενόν τι ἀγαθὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων μὴ λαβεῖν.
- [10.] Ἀσπασία ἐρωτηθεῖσα διὰ τί κατὰ μὲν τῶν γυναικῶν θάνατος ἐστὶν ἐὰν ἄλλῳ πλησιάσωσιν, κατὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐ, ἔφη· “ἄνδρες γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντες, ἀλλ’ οὐ γυναῖκες.”
- [11.] Ἀκούσας μυστήριον ἐν φιλίᾳ ὕστερον ἐχθρὸς γενόμενος μὴ ἐκφάνης· ἀδικεῖς γὰρ οὐ τὸν ἐχθρόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλίαν.
- [12.] Αἱ ἐπιφανεῖς τύχαι καθάπερ οἱ σφοδροὶ τῶν ἀνέμων, μεγάλα ποιοῦσι ναυάγια.
- [13.] Ἀριστοτέλης εἶπεν· “ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς σιωπᾶν οὐδὲ διαλέγεσθαι οἶδεν.
- [14.] Ἀριστοτέλης ἔφη· ὁ ἐν νόσῳ<sup>20</sup> διαθήκας γράφων παραπλήσια πάσχει τοῖς ἐν χειμῶνι θαλαττίῳ εὐτρεπίζειν ἀρχομένοις τὰ τῆς νηὸς ὅπλα.
- [15.] Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεὺς θεασάμενος τὸν ἴδιον παῖδα προπετῶς Ἀθηναίοις μαχόμενον, ἔφη· “ἡ τῇ δυνάμει πρόσθετος ἢ τοῦ θράσους ἄφελε.”
- [16.] (239<sup>r</sup>) Ἀνάχαρσις ὁ Σκύθης ἐρωτηθεῖς διὰ ποίαν αἰτίαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντοτε λυποῦνται, ἔφη· “ὅτι οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς τὰ ἴδια κακὰ λυπεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια ἀγαθὰ.”
- [17.] Ἄνδρὸς χαρακτήρ ἐκ λόγου γνωρίζεται.

<sup>20</sup> ἐν νόσῳ] ἐνόσῳ cod.

- [18.] Ἀνάξιον ἄνδρα μὴ ἐπαίνει διὰ πλοῦτον.  
[19.] Ἀνδριάντα μὲν τὸ σχῆμα, ἄνδρα δὲ ἡ πρᾶξις κοσμεῖ.  
[20.] Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἰδὼν τινα τῶν γερόντων βάπτων τὰς τρίχας ἔφη· “μὴ τὰς τρίχας βάπτε, ἀλλ’ εἰ δύνασαι τὰ γόνατα.”  
[21.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν στρατιώτην ὑπὸ γυναικὸς φθειριζόμενον ἔφη· “ἰδοὺ καὶ πρόβατον ὑπὸ λύκου φθειριζόμενον.”  
[22.] Ἀλέξανδρος ἰδὼν γραῦν καλλωπιζομένην ἔφη· “εἰ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας, πεπλάνησαι, εἰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νεκρούς, μὴ βράδυνε.”  
[23.] Βέλτιον τοὺς υἱοὺς σπουδάζειν πεπαιδευμένους μᾶλλον ἢ πλουσίους.  
[24.] Βουλεύου πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ λέγειν τι ἢ πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἔξεις ἄδειαν ἀνακαλέσασθαι τὰ πραχθέντα ἢ λεχθέντα.  
[25.] Βασιλέα φρόνιμον τὸ διάδημα οὐ ποιεῖ. Νοὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρχων.  
[26.] (239<sup>v</sup>) Βεβαίως ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι τῶν ἐχόντων πάντες ἄνθρωποι φίλοι.  
[27.] Βέλτιον λίθον βαλεῖν, ἢ εἰκὴ λόγον.  
[28.] Βέλτιον τοῦ τάχους ἢ μακροθυμία, καὶ τῆς αὐθαδεΐας ἢ συγκατάβασις.  
[29.] Γῆρας καὶ πενία ὁμοῦ δύο τραύματα δυσθεράπευτα.  
[30.] Γλύκων τὴν παιδεῖαν ἱερὸν ἄσυλον ἔλεγεν εἶναι.  
[31.] Γνώσις θεοῦ ποιεῖ ἄνδρα βραχύλογον.  
[32.] Γαμβροῦ ὁ μὲν ἐπιτυχὼν εὗρεν υἱόν, ὁ δὲ ἀποτυχὼν ἀπώλεσε καὶ θυγατέρα.  
[33.] Γύναι, γυναιξὶ κόσμον ἢ σιγὴ φέρει.  
[34.] Γυνὴ τῷ προσώπῳ κοσμουμένη τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀμορφίαν ἐμφαίνει.  
[35.] Γυναῖκα καλὴν μικρὰν ἰδὼν τις ἔφη· “μικρὸν μὲν κακόν, μέγα δὲ καλόν.”  
[36.] Γυναῖκα σάφρονα ζητεῖ καὶ μὴ εὖμορφον· τὸ μὲν γὰρ θησαυρὸς ἀνέκλειπτος, τὸ δὲ ὑποψία γνώμης.  
[37.] Διογένης τὴν μὲν ρίζαν τῆς παιδείας ἔφη εἶναι πικράν, τοὺς δὲ καρποὺς γλυκεῖς.  
[38.] Δημοκρίτῳ ἔφη τις· “διατί μέγας ὢν μικρὰν ἔγχεας γυναῖκα;” εἶπεν· “ἐκλογὴν ποιησάμενος τοῦ κακοῦ, τὸ ἔλαττον ἡρετισάμην.”  
[39.] Δημοσθένης ἔφη ὅτι οἱ<sup>21</sup> οἴνου πληρούμενοι τὸν νοῦν κενοῦνται.  
[40.] (240<sup>f</sup>) Δημῶναξ ἔφη· “τοῖς ὥσὶ πλέον ἢ τῇ γλώττῃ χρῶ.”  
[41.] Δημοσθένης ἐν συμποσίῳ πρὸς τὸν πολλὰ λαλοῦντα ἔφη· “εἰ τοσαῦτα ἐφρόνεις ὅσα λαλεῖς, οὐκ ἂν τοσαῦτα ἐλάλεις.”  
[42.] Δεινὸν ὅταν τις μὴ φρονῶν δοκῇ<sup>22</sup> φρονεῖν.  
[43.] Δημοσθένης ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί δύσκολον ἐν βίῳ, ἔφη· “ἀληθινῶν φίλων ἐπιτυχία.”  
[44.] Δυνάμενος χαρίζεσθαι μὴ βράδυνε, ἀλλὰ δίδου, ἐπεὶ “οὐκ οἶδας, κατὰ τὸν προφήτην, τί τέξεται ἡ ἐπιούσα.”  
[45.] Δημοσθένης ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος “πῶς τῆς ῥητορικῆς περιεγένου;” ἔφη· “τὸ ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ τὸ πλέον οἴνου ἀναλίσκειν ἔλαιον.”  
[46.] Διογένης ὁ Κυνικός φιλόσοφος τριδούλους ἐκάλει τοὺς γαστρὸς καὶ αἰδοίων καὶ ὕπνου ἡττωμένους.

<sup>21</sup> τοὺς cod.

<sup>22</sup> δοκεῖ cod.

- [47.] Διογένης θεασάμενος μικρὰν πόλιν μεγάλας πύλας ἔχουσαν ἔφη· “κλείσατε τὰς πύλας, μὴ ἢ πόλις ἐξέλθῃ.”
- [48.] Δόξα καὶ πλοῦτος ἄνευ φρονήσεως οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς κτῆμα.
- [49.] Δεῖ πάντα μὲν ἀκούειν, ἐκλέγειν δὲ τὰ χρήσιμα.
- [50.] Ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ φίλον εὐρεῖν εὐκόλον, ἐν δὲ δυστυχίᾳ πάντων ἐστὶν ἄλλοτριότης.
- [51.] Εἰ ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχαῖς ὁ Θεὸς κατηκολούθει, πολλῷ θάττον ἂν ἀπώλοντο πάντες ἄνθρωποι, συνεχῶς πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ κατ’ ἀλλήλων εὐχόμενοι.
- [52.] (240<sup>v</sup>) Εἰ βούλει διττῶς εὐδοκμεῖν, καὶ τοὺς καλὰ ποιοῦντας προτίμα καὶ τοὺς χεῖρονα ποιοῦντας ἐπιτίμα.
- [53.] Ἐν οἴνῳ μὴ βαττολογῆσεις σοφίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενος.
- [54.] Ἐν ἄλλοτρίοις παραδείγμασι παίδευε σεαυτὸν καὶ ἀπαθῆς τῶν κακῶν ἔση.
- [55.] Εὐριπίδης ποτὲ φακὴν ἔψων καὶ μὴ ἔχων ξύλα ἀνελόμενος ξόανον Ἡρακλέους ἐγγὺς ἐστηκὸς ἐπέθηκε τῷ πυρὶ εἰπών· “τρισκαιδέκατόν σοι τοῦτο τὸ ἄθλον Εὐριπίδης ἐπέθηκεν ἐπὶ φακὴν ἔψησαι.<sup>23</sup>
- [56.] Ἐν μὲν εὐδία σπάνιον τοῦ ναυαγῆσαι, ἐν δὲ εὐβουλίᾳ τοῦ ἀτυχήσαι.
- [57.] Εἰς ἀρχὴν κατασταθεὶς μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπῳ πονηρῷ χρῶ πρὸς τὰς διοικήσεις· ὃ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀμάρτει, σοὶ<sup>24</sup> τὰς αἰτίας ἀναθήσουσιν.
- [58.] Εἰ καὶ πάντων ἔξεστι μεταλαμβάνειν ἄλλ’ οὐ πάντων πάντοτε πᾶσι συμφέρει.
- [59.] Ἐρωτηθεὶς τις, πῶς ὕβριζόμενος οὐκ ὀργίζεται, ἔφη· “οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπαιρούμενος ἐπαίρομαι.”
- [60.] Ζήνων ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὁ παιδευόμενος τριῶν τούτων χρήζει<sup>25</sup> φύσεως, μελέτης καὶ χρόνου.
- [61.] Ζήνων ὁ Στωϊκὸς φιλόσοφος ἀφυοῦς ζωγράφου λέγοντος αὐτῷ· “κονιάσόν σου τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα αὐτὴν ζωγραφίσω.” “Οὐ μένοῦν, εἶπεν, (241<sup>r</sup>) ἀλλὰ πρότερον αὐτὴν ζωγράψουσιν, ἵνα μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγὼ αὐτὴν κονιάσω.”
- [62.] Ζάλευκος ὁ τῶν Λοκρῶν νομοθέτης τοὺς νόμους ἔλεγε τοῖς ἀραχνίοις ὁμοίους εἶναι· “καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἐκεῖνα ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ μυῖα ἢ κώνωψ, κατέχεται, ἐὰν δὲ σφήξ<sup>26</sup> ἢ μέλισσα, διαρρήξασα ἀφίπταται· οὕτως καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις· ἐὰν ἐμπέσῃ πένης, συνέχεται· ἐὰν δὲ πλούσιος ἢ δυνατὸς, διαρρήξας ἀποτρέχει.”
- [63.] Ἡ τῶν περιστάσεων ἀνάγκη τοὺς μὲν φίλους δοκιμάζει, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐλέγχει.
- [64.] Ἡ χάρις πρὸς εὐγνώμονας φίλους οὐδέποτε θνήσκει.
- [65.] Ἡ σιγὴν κρεῖσσον ἔχειν δεῖ ἢ λόγον ὠφέλιμον.
- [66.] Ἡνίκα πράττεις τὴν ἀρετὴν χαῖρε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπαίρου μήποτε τὸ ναυάγιον ἐν τῷ λιμένι γένηται.
- [67.] Ἡ παιδεία εὐτυχοῦσι μὲν ἐστὶ νόμος, ἀτυχοῦσι δὲ καταφύγιον.
- [68.] Θηρεύουσι τοῖς μὲν κυσὶ τοὺς λαγωοὺς οἱ κυνηγοί, τοῖς δὲ ἐπαίνοις τοὺς ἀνοήτους οἱ πολλοί.

<sup>23</sup> ἐψησας cod.

<sup>24</sup> σὺ cod.

<sup>25</sup> χρίζει cod.

<sup>26</sup> σφίγξ cod.

- [69.] Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί πρεσβύτερον τῶν ὄντων· “θεός, ἔφη, ἀγέννητος γάρ·” τί κάλλιστον· “κόσμος·<sup>27</sup> ἅπαντα γὰρ χωρεῖ·” τί ταχύτατον· “νοῦς· διὰ πάντων γὰρ τρέχει·” τί ἰσχυρότατον· “ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων·” τί σοφώτατον· “χρόνος· εὐρίσκει γὰρ πάντα.”
- [70.] (241<sup>ν</sup>) Θεόκριτος παρακαλούμενος υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ διαιτῆσαι, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν υἱόν· εἰ μὲν δικαιότερα μέλλεις λέγειν τοῦ πατρός, διὰ τοῦτο ἄξιος κατακεκρίσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἄδικα, καὶ οὕτως ἄξιος εἰ κατακεκρίσθαι.
- [71.] Θέλεις τέλειος εἶναι, ἔστω πάντων εὐτελέστερος.
- [72.] Θεὸς οὐ ληπτὸς· εἰ δὲ ληπτὸς οὐ Θεός.
- [73.] Ἴππου μὲν ἀρετὴν ἐν πολέμῳ, φίλου δὲ πίστιν ἐν ἀτυχίᾳ κρίνομεν.
- [74.] Ἰατρὸν καὶ φίλον, οὐ τὸν ἡδίων·<sup>28</sup> ἀλλὰ τὸν ὠφελιμώτερον.<sup>29</sup>
- [75.] Ἰσοκράτης ἔφη· “μηδενὶ πονηρῷ πράγματι μήτε παρίστασο μήτε συνηγόρει· δόξεις γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς τοιαῦτα πράττων.”
- [76.] Ἰσοκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί λυπεῖ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, ἔφη· “εὐτυχία πονηρῶν.”
- [77.] Ἰσοκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί ἐστὶν ἔργον ῥήτορος, ἔφη· “τὸ τὰ μικρὰ μεγάλα ποιῆσαι, τὰ δὲ μείζω μικρὰ τῷ λόγῳ.”
- [78.] Ἰέρων ἐρωτηθεὶς, τίς ὁ εὐδαίμων, ἔφη· “ὁ τὸ μὲν σῶμα ὑγιής, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν εὖπορος, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εὐπαιδευτος.”
- [79.] Κλείταρχος ἔφη· “ἐν συλλόγῳ πρῶτος λέγειν μὴ ἐπιτήδευε. μετὰ γὰρ πλείονος λέγειν ὄψει τὰ συμφέροντα.
- [80.] Κρύπτειν ἀτυχίαν χρή, ἵνα μὴ εὐφραίνωνται οἱ ἐχθροί.
- [81.] Καλὸν τὸ ψεῦδος ὅταν ὠφελεῖ τοὺς λέγοντας, μηδὲν καταβλάπτει τοὺς ἀκούοντας.
- [82.] (242<sup>ν</sup>) Κλείσοφος ἐπιτιμῶντος αὐτῷ Φιλίππου, ὅτι αἰτεῖ, “καὶ γὰρ σὺ, φησὶν, αἰεὶ ἔχεις.”
- [83.] Κρεῖττον νουθετεῖν τοῦ ὀνειδίζειν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡπιόν τε καὶ φίλον, τὸ δὲ σκληρόν τε καὶ ὕβριστικόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν διορθοῖ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας, τὸ δὲ μόνον ἐξελέγχει.
- [84.] Κόλαζε κρίνων, ἀλλὰ μὴ θυμούμενος.
- [85.] Κἂν μυρίων πηχῶν γῆς κύριος ὑπάρχεις, θανὼν γενήσῃ ἢ τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων.
- [86.] Λάκων ἐρωτηθεὶς, δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν τὰς τοῦ πώγωνος τρίχας ἐπιπολὺ κωμᾷ, εἶπεν· “ἵνα βλέπω ταύτας πολιὰς μηδὲν ἀνάξιον αὐτῶν πράττων.”
- [87.] Λάκων πρὸς τὸν κολαζόμενον καὶ λέγοντα· “ἄκων ἤμαρτον,” εἰ<πε>, “ἄκων τοῖνον καὶ κολάζου.”
- [88.] Μυστήριόν σου μὴ κατείπῃς τῷ φίλῳ σου, καὶ οὐ φοβηθῇ αὐτὸν γενέσθαι ἐχθρόν.
- [89.] Μικραὶ χάριτες ἐν καιρῷ περιστάσεως μεγάλα εἰσὶ τοῖς λαμβάνουσι ταύτας.
- [90.] Μὴ φεῦγε μικρὰ χαρίζεσθαι· δόξεις γὰρ καὶ πρὸς τὰ μεγάλα τοιοῦτος εἶναι.
- [91.] Μὴ ὀνειδίσης φίλῳ σου χάριτας· δόξεις γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεδωκώς.
- [92.] Μηδενὶ συμφορὰν ὀνειδίσης· κοινὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀόρατον.

<sup>27</sup> κόσμος] κόσμος ποῖημα γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ·” τί μέγιστον· “τόπος· *Gnom. Vat.* 320.

<sup>28</sup> ἴδιον cod.

<sup>29</sup> ὠφελιμώτερον] ὠφελιμώτερον ἐκλέγεσθαι δεῖ *Corpus Par.* 5.55.

- [93.] Μὴ ζήτει [γενέσθαι] τὰ γινόμενα γίγνεσθαι ὥς θέλεις, ἀλλὰ θέλε ὥς αὐτὰ γενόμενα γίνεται.
- [94.] (242<sup>v</sup>) Μηδὲνα φίλον ποιῶν πρὶν ἂν ἐξετάσῃς πῶς κέχρηται τοῖς προτέροις φίλοις· ἔλπιζε γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ σὲ γενέσθαι τοιοῦτος οἷος καὶ περὶ ἐκείνους γέγονε.
- [95.] Μῆτε παρὰ νεκροῦ ὁμιλία, μῆτε παρὰ φιλαργύρῳ δεῖ χάριν ἐπιζητεῖν [δεῖ].
- [96.] Μὴ ταχὺ λάλει· ἄνοιαν γὰρ ἐμφαίνει.
- [97.] Νεκρὸν ἰατρεῦειν καὶ γέροντα νουθετεῖν ταυτόν ἐστιν.
- [98.] Νικίας ἔφη· “οὐ καλὸν πεπαιδευμένοις<sup>30</sup> ἀπαιδεύτοις διαλέγεσθαι, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ νήφοντα<sup>31</sup> μεθύουσιν.”
- [99.] Νομικῶ φλυάρῳ ἔφη τίς· “οὐ δεῖ ἐν πολλοῖς λέγειν ὀλίγα, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὀλίγοις πολλά.”
- [100.] Ναὸς θεοῦ ὁ σοφός, ὃν αἰεὶ καθαίρειν δεῖ καὶ κοσμεῖν πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν θεοῦ.
- [101.] Ξενοφῶν ὁ φιλόσοφος ἤτησε παρὰ τινος τῶν πλουσίων· ὁ δὲ προσκαλεσάμενος χωλὸν ὄντα πλησίον ἐκείνῳ δέδωκεν· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔφη· “πάνυ καλῶς πεποίηκας· χωλὸς μὲν γὰρ προσδοκᾷς γενέσθαι, φιλόσοφος δὲ οὐ.”
- [102.] Ξανθίππῃ ἐρωτηθεῖσα, τί μέγιστον ὑπῆρχε τῷ Σωκράτει, “τοῦτο,” ἔφη, “ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ ἀγαθοῖς καὶ φαύλοις ἡ αὐτὴ ὄψις ἦν αὐτῷ.”
- [103.] Ξανθίππῃ ἐπὶ θέαν πορευομένη (243<sup>v</sup>) ὥς ἐθεάσατο αὐτὴν Σωκράτης κοσμημένην οὕσαν ἔφη· “οὐχ ἵνα θεάσῃ, γύναι, πορεύῃ, ἀλλ’ ἵνα θεαθῇς.”
- [104.] Ὁ πλουσίῳ χορηγῶν ἢ χαριζόμενος οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ εἰς θάλασσαν ὕδωρ ἐκχέοντος.
- [105.] Ὁ πολλοῖς φοβερός ὢν πολλοὺς φοβεῖται.
- [106.] Οὔτε συμπόσιον ἄνευ ὁμιλίας, οὔτε πλοῦτος χωρὶς ἀρετῆς ἔχει ἡδονήν.
- [107.] Οὔτε ἵπῳ χωρὶς χαλινοῦ οὔτε πλούτου χωρὶς λογισμοῦ δύναται κρατῆσαι τίς.
- [108.] Ὁ τῶν φιλαργύρων βίος ὥσπερ ὁ ἥλιος δύνων ὑπὸ γῆν οὐδένα τῶν ζώντων εὐφραίνει.
- [109.] Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δι’ αἰσχρὰν αἰτίαν πένεσθαι ὄνειδος.
- [110.] Οἰνοπίδης ἔφη· “ὅποια ἡ φύσις τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐστί, οὕτως καὶ ὁ λόγος.”
- [111.] Ὁ Δημόκριτος ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί ἐστὶν ἄριστον μάθημα, ἔφη· “τὸ ἀπομαθεῖν τὰ κακά.”
- [112.] Οὔτε θολερὸν ὕδωρ, οὔτε ἀπαίδευτον ψυχὴν ταρασσεῖν δεῖ.
- [113.] Οἰνοπίδης ὁρῶν μειράκιον πολλὰ βιβλία κτώμενον, ἔφη· “μὴ τῇ κιβωτῷ ἀλλὰ τῷ στήθει.”
- [114.] Οὐδεὶς ἄλυπον τὸν βίον διήγαγεν ἄνθρωπος ὢν, οὐδ’ ἄχρι τέλους ἔμεινε ἐντυχῶν.
- [115.] Οὐκ ἔστιν βίον εὐρεῖν ἄλυπον ἐν οὐδενί.
- [116.] Ὅστις τῷ ὁμνῶντι μὴ πείθεται, αὐτὸς (243<sup>v</sup>) ἐπιорκεῖν ῥαδίως ἐπίσταται.

<sup>30</sup> πεπαιδευμένοις functions as a direct object here.

<sup>31</sup> νήφοντα cod.

- [117.] Ὁ Αἴσωπος ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί ἐστὶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθόν τε καὶ φαῦλον, ἔφη· “γλῶσσα.”
- [118.] Οὐδεὶς πονηρὸν πρᾶγμα χρηστὸς ὢν ποιεῖ.
- [119.] Ὁδηγὸν τυφλὸν λαβεῖν καὶ σύμβουλον ἀνόητον ταῦτόν ἐστιν.
- [120.] Οἱ πονηροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, κἂν χρηστότητα ἐπαγγέλλωνται, διὰ τὸν τρόπον οὐ πιστεύονται.
- [121.] Ὁ κακῶς διανοηθεὶς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων οὐδέποτε καλῶς βουλευέσεται περὶ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων.
- [122.] Ὁ τῶν φιλαργύρων πλοῦτος ἔοικε δεῖπνον νεκροῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἔχων, τὸν εὐφρανθησόμενον οὐκ ἔχει.
- [123.] Ὁνεῖρῳ ἔοικεν ὁ τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν βίος, κενὰς ἔχων φαντασίας.
- [124.] Ὅσον τοῖς δικαίοις τὸ θεῖον συναγωνίζεται, τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἀδίκοις ἐναντιοῦται.
- [125.] Οὐδεὶς μετ’ ὀργῆς ἀσφαλῶς βουλευεται.
- [126.] Ὅν τρόπον θυμούμενα τὰ θηρία τοῖς θηριομαχοῦσι πολλάκις ἑαυτὰ τὰ ξίφη περιπεῖρει, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὀργῇ τὸν ὀργιζόμενον.
- [127.] Οἱ πεπαιδευμένοι τὸ τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσι τῶν ἀπαιδευτῶν ὅσον θεὸς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- [128.] Οὐ τὸ πένεσθαι αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ αἰσχροῦς εὐπορεῖν.
- [129.] Οἱ νοῦ σοφοὶ ἀντεχόμενοι, οἴνου πολλοῦ ἀπέχονται· (244<sup>v</sup>) ὑπερβὰς γὰρ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς χρείας· μέθην ἐπάγει δεινήν, ἡ δὲ μέθη ἀμβλύνει ψυχὴν. οἱ δὲ συμμέτρου οἴνου μετέχοντες καὶ εὐφροσύνης ἀπολαύουσι καὶ ἀφροσύνην ἀπελαύνουσιν.
- [130.] Οἴνου ἀπέχου τοῦ πικροῦ σοφιστοῦ.
- [131.] Πονηρὰ φύσις ἐπιλαβομένη ἐξουσίας δημοσίας ἀπεργάζεται συμφορᾶς.
- [132.] Πιττακὸς ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἔφη· “ὃ μέλλεις ποιεῖν, μὴ λέγε· ἀποτυχὼν γὰρ καταγελασθήσῃ.”
- [133.] Πυθαγόρας φήσαντος αὐτῷ τινὸς “λίαν μοι ἐπισκώπτεις,” ἔφη· “καὶ γὰρ τοῖς σπληνικοῖς τὰ μὲν δριμέα καὶ πικρὰ ὠφέλιμα, τὰ δὲ γλυκέα βλαβερά.”
- [134.] Πλούταρχος παρεκελεύετο τοῖς νέοις τρία ταῦτα ἔχειν· ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς γνώμης σωφροσύνην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς γλώττης σιγὴν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ προσώπου αἰδῶ.
- [135.] Πλάτων ὁ σοφὸς ἰδὼν μεῖράκιον εὐγενὲς ἀσώτως τὴν γονικὴν οὐσίαν ἀναλῶσαντα καὶ ἐπὶ θύραις πανδοχείου ἄρτον ἐσθίοντα καὶ ὕδωρ πίνοντα “μεῖράκιον,” ἔφη· “εἰ οὕτως καταγνώμην ἠρίστας, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως καταγνώμην ἐδείπνεις.
- [136.] Πολλοὶ φίλους οὐ τοὺς ἀρίστους ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλουσίους αἰροῦνται· σὺ δὲ τοὺς φρονίμους ζήτει.
- [137.] (244<sup>v</sup>) Πάθος ἅπαν τὸ μὲν ταχέως γινωσκόμενον εὐβοήθητον, τὸ δὲ χρόνῳ κατεχόμενον ἀνίατον.
- [138.] Πυλάδης<sup>32</sup> ὁ Μεσσήνιος θεασάμενος κατάκριτον νόμους ἀναγινώσκοντα εἶπεν· “ὄψε τοὺς νόμους ἀναγινώσκεις.”
- [139.] Παραδοξότατόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώποις ἐάν τις ἐξουσίαν κυριεύσας ἑαυτὸν γνωρίζει.

<sup>32</sup> Πυδάδης cod.

- [140.] Πᾶσα συμφορὰ κούφη ἐστὶν ἀνδρὶ μὴ κούφῳ.
- [141.] Πόνος συνεχὴς ἐλαφρὸς τῇ συνηθείᾳ γίνεται.
- [142.] Παρὰ μαθητοῦ λαβὼν τις μισθὸν ἐδάκρυσεν· ἐρωτηθεὶς δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἶπεν· “ὅτι δι’ ὀλίγον ἀργύριον ἀπώλεσα μου τὴν παρουσίαν.”
- [143.] Πύρρος ἀκούσας ὅτι νεανίσκοι τινὲς πολλὰ βλάσφημα περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρήκασιν, ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἅπαντας· ἀχθέντες δὲ τὸν πρῶτον ἠρώτησεν, εἰ ταῦτα εἰρήκασιν περὶ αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος εἶπεν “ταῦτα, ὦ βασιλεῦ· πλείονα τούτων εἰρήκαμεν ἂν, εἰ πλείονα οἶνον ἐπίνομεν.”
- [144.] Πλάτων λοιδορούμενος ὑπὸ τινος ἔφη· “λέγε κακῶς ἐπεὶ καλῶς λέγειν οὐκ ἔμαθες.”
- [145.] Ῥήτορος ἀπόφθεγμα ὅτι· ὄφιν τρέφειν καὶ πονηρὸν εὐεργετῆν ταυτόν (245<sup>Γ</sup>) ἐστίν· οὐδετέρου γὰρ ἡ χάρις εὖνοιαν γεννᾷ.
- [146.] Ῥώμην μεγίστην καὶ πλοῦτον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν κτῆσαι.
- [147.] Σόλων ὀνειδιζόμενος ποτέ, ὅτι δίκην ἔχων ἐμισθώσατο ῥήτορα, “καὶ γὰρ” ἔφη, “ὅταν δεῖπνον ἔχω μάγειρον μισθοῦμαι.
- [148.] Σωκράτης ἔφη· “οἱ<sup>33</sup> μὲν ἀκρατεῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀρρωστίαις, οἱ δὲ ἄφρονες ἐν ταῖς δυστυχίαις εἰσὶ δυσθεράπευτοι.”
- [149.] Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους ζῆν ἵνα ἐσθίωσιν· “ἐγὼ δὲ ἐσθίω ἵνα ζῶ.”
- [150.] Σωκράτης ἔφη τὸν σπουδαῖον φίλον πρὸς μὲν τὰς εὐφροσύνας κληθέντα δεῖ παρεῖναι, πρὸς δὲ τὰς περιστάσεις αὐτόκλητον δεῖ παρεῖναι.
- [151.] Σωκράτης ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τινος, εἰ κατασχεῖν δύναταί τις λόγων εὐπόρητον, ἔφη· “ὅστις διάπυρον ἄνθρακα τῇ γλώσσει κατασχεῖν δυνήσεται.”
- [152.] Σόλων τὸν μὲν κόρον ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλοῦτου γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ὕβριν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόρου.
- [153.] Σεμίραμις ἑαυτὴν κατασκευά<σα>σα τάφον ἐπέγραψεν· “ὅστις ἂν χρημάτων δεηθῇ βασιλεὺς, διελὼν τὸ μνημεῖον ὅσα βούλεται λαμβανέτω.” Δαρεῖος οὖν διελὼν χρήματα μὲν οὐχ εὗρε, γράμμασι δὲ ἐ(245<sup>ν</sup>)νέτυχε φράζοντα οὕτως· “εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἦσθα ἀνὴρ καὶ χρημάτων ἄπληστος, οὐκ ἂν νεκρῶν θήκας ἐκίνεις.”
- [154.] Τίμων<sup>34</sup> ὁ μισάνθρωπος ἐρωτηθεὶς “διατί πάντας ἀνθρώπους μισεῖς;” ἔφη· “τοὺς μὲν πονηροὺς εὐλόγως μισῶ, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὅτι οὐ μισοῦσι τοὺς πονηροὺς.”
- [155.] Τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν οἱ πένητες ἐκπεφεύγασιν, ἐπιβουλὴν, φθόνον καὶ μῖσος, οἷς οἱ πλούσιοι καθ’ ἡμέραν συνοικοῦσιν.
- [156.] Τὰ τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἀσώτων χρήματα ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κρημνῶν σικέαις ὁ Διογένης εἵκαζεν ἅφ’ ὧν ἄνθρωπος μὲν οὐ λαμβάνει κόρακες δὲ καὶ ἵκτινοι ὥσπερ παρὰ τούτων ἐταῖροι καὶ κόλακες.
- [157.] Τοὺς μὲν κενοὺς ἀσκούς τὸ πνεῦμα διατείνει, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους τὸ οἶμα.
- [158.] Τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι βοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλοις ἀπορίας, τὸ δὲ μὴ βούλεσθαι κακίας τεκμήριον.
- [159.] Τελευτησάντων τῶν φίλων θρηνεῖν μὲν οὐκ εὐγενές, προνοεῖν δὲ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπιμελῶς.

<sup>33</sup> εἰ cod.

<sup>34</sup> Σίμων cod.; the *sigma* was added by a later hand.



- [160.] Τῇ γῇ δανείζειν κρεῖττον ἢ τοῖς βροτοῖς, ἥτις τόκους δίδωσι μὴ λυπούμενη.
- [161.] Τῆς παιδείας ὥσπερ χρυσοῦ τὸ καλὸν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τίμιον.
- [162.] (246<sup>γ</sup>) Τὸ σιωπᾶν οὐ μόνον ἄδιψον, ὥς φησὶν Ἱπποκράτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλυπον καὶ ἀνώδυνον.
- [163.] Τίκεται μὲν σίδηρος πυρί, ὁ δὲ λογισμὸς ἔρωτι.
- [164.] Τοὺς μὲν φίλους δημοσίως μὲν ἐπαίνει, κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ νουθέτει.
- [165.] Τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ μὲν συνετοὶ πρὸ τῶν παθημάτων μανθάνουσι, οἱ δὲ ἀσύνετοι πάσχοντες διδάσκονται.
- [166.] Ὑγιαίνων νοσεῖ πᾶς περίεργος ὁ τὰ ἀλλότρια πολυπραγμονῶν.
- [167.] Ὑβρις καὶ οἶνος ἀποκαλύπτειν εἰώθασι φίλοις τὰ ἥθη τῶν φίλων.
- [168.] Φίλοις ἀτυχοῦσιν καὶ εὐτυχοῦσιν ὁ αὐτὸς ἴσθι.
- [169.] Φεύγειν δεῖ κακῶν μὲν φιλίαν, τῶν δὲ ἀγαθῶν ἔχθραν.
- [170.] Φίλον μὴ ἀγάπα ἔνεκα χρείας· ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη φιλία πρόσκαιρος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀβέβαιος.
- [171.] Φρόνησις εὐτυχίαν ὥς τὰ πολλὰ χαρίζεται, τύχη δὲ φρόνησιν οὐ ποιεῖ.
- [172.] Φιλαργυρία ἐστὶ πάθος ἀεὶ πενόμενον.
- [173.] Φίλος ἀληθὴς ὁ κοινωνῶν ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς τοῖς φίλοις.
- [174.] Φαύλην πρᾶξιν ἐσθλὸς λόγος οὐκ ἄμαυρεῖ, οὔτε πρᾶξιν ἀγαθὴν λόγου βλασφημία λυμαίνεται.
- [175.] Χρὴ τὸν υἱὸν δοῦλον εἶναι τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ τὸν οἰκέτην· ὁ μὲν γὰρ φύσει τοῦ πατρὸς δοῦλος ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ νόμῳ.
- [176.] Χρύσιππος ἔλεγεν· “τὸ (246<sup>γ</sup>) σιγᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν χρυσὸν ἐστὶ θάπτειν.”
- [177.] Χρηστὸς ἄνθρωπος πονηρὸν πρᾶγμα οὐ ποιεῖ.
- [178.] Χίλων ἐρωτηθεὶς, τί ἐστὶ δυσκολώτατον, ἔφη· “τὸ γινώσκειν ἑαυτόν.”
- [179.] Χαρίζου χάριτας ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀχαρίστοις.
- [180.] Χρυσὸν κηλιδοῦν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν ψέγειν ταῦτόν ἐστιν.
- [181.] Χρὴ τοὺς εὐφρονούντας τὰ μὲν τῆς φιλίας ὑπομνήματα μηδέποτε διὰ μικρᾶς προφάσεως ἐξαλείφειν, τὰ δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας σημεῖα κἂν ἡ μεγάλα τὴν ταχίστην ἀφανίζουσιν.
- [182.] Ψυχῆς μέγας χαλινὸς ἐστὶν ὁ νοῦς.
- [183.] Ψίθυρον καὶ διάβολον ἄνδρα μὴ προσδέχου· οὐ γὰρ ἔνεκεν εὐνοίας τοῦτο ποιεῖ· ὥς γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορρήματα ἀπεκάλυψε σοί, οὕτως καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενα ἐτέροις ἀναθήσει.
- [184.] Ψεῦδος ἐν πρώτοις λεχθὲν πλεῖονα πίστιν ἔχει παρὰ τὴν ἐν δευτέρῳ λόγῳ ἀλήθειαν ἐνδεικνυμένην.
- [185.] Ψεῦδος ὅταν θέλῃ πιστευθῆναι, ἐὰν μὴ πῆξῃ θεμέλιον δοκούσης ἀληθείας, οὐ πιστεύεται.
- [186.] Ψευδόμενος οὐδεὶς λανθάνει χρονίσας.
- [187.] Ὡσπερ θνητὸν τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἔφω, οὕτω προσήκειν μηδὲ τὴν ὀργὴν ἔχειν ἀθάνατον, ὅστις σωφρονεῖν ἐπίσταται.
- [188.] Ὡσπερ τὴν μέλιτταν οὐ διὰ τὸ κέντρον μισεῖς, ἀλλὰ (247<sup>γ</sup>) διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τοῦ μέλιτος φιλεῖς, οὕτω καὶ φίλον μὴ δι' ἐπίπληξιν μισῆς, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀγάπα.

[189.] Ὡςπερ οἱ ἐν εὐδία πλέοντες καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν χειμῶνα ἔχουσιν ἔτοιμα, οὕτως οἱ ἐν εὐτυχίᾳ φρονούντες τὰ πρὸς ἀτυχίαν ἡτοιμάκασιν βοηθήματα.

[190.] Ὡςπερ ὁ καπνὸς ἐπιδάκνων τὰς ὄψεις οὐκ ἐξ προβλέπειν τὸ κείμενον ἐν τοῖς ποσίν, οὕτως ὁ θυμὸς ἐπεισερχόμενος τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπισκοτεῖ καὶ τὸ συμβησόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄτοπον οὐκ ἀφήσιν τῇ διανοίᾳ προβλέπειν.

[191.] Ὡςπερ πλοῖα οὐχ ὅσα ἐν εὐδία πλεῖ γενναῖα εἰσίν, ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς χειμῶνα ἀντέχει καὶ σώζεται, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἱ ὀργῇ καὶ κινήσει ἀντέχοντες μεγαλόψυχοι καὶ ἀνδρεῖοι.

[192.] Ὡν τὰς δόξας ζηλοῖς,<sup>35</sup> τούτων καὶ τὰς ἀγαθὰς πράξεις μιμοῦ.

[193.] Ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ σίδηρος, οὕτω καὶ οἱ φθονεροὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου ἥθους κατεσθίονται.

[194.] Ὡςπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσιν ἱατροὶ πατέρες, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ νόμοι.

## Text 49

### A short chronicle, inc. Τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον (f. 247<sup>v</sup>)

Τῶν Τρωϊκῶν ὕστερον γεγέννηται Ὅμηρος ἔτεσιν ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐγένετο ἔτη εἰσὶν χκβ' μέχρι τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως.

## Text 53

### Views on the soul, inc. Ἀς μὲν ἔχομεν δόξας (ff. 254<sup>r</sup>–256<sup>v</sup>)

Ἀς<sup>36</sup> μὲν ἔχομεν δόξας περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς ἐκτίθεμεν ὧδε· τὴν μὲν οὖν οὐσίαν αὐτῆς μίαν εἶναι φαμέν ὥς μὴ εἶναι τρεῖς ἐν ἡμῖν ἀσυνδέτους ψυχάς, τὴν μὲν φυτικὴν, τὴν δὲ αἰσθητικὴν, τὴν δὲ λογικὴν. μίαν δὲ φάσκοντες οὐ σῶμα ταύτην φαμέν οὔτε μὴν σωματικὴν τινα ποιότητα, οὔτε τι τῶν ἐν ἐτέρῳ τὸ εἶναι ἐχόντων, ἀλλ' ὄντοτῆτα αὐθυπόστατον δυναμένην καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος ὑφεστάναι καὶ ζῆν. ἀπλῆν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους συντέθεται. ἀμερῇ· ἀποσος γάρ ἐστιν. αὐτοζῶην· οὐ γὰρ ἐτέρωθε λαμβάνει τὸ ζῆν, ὥςπερ τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ εἶδος αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ζωὴν οὐσίωται. ἀναλλοίωτον κατὰ τὰς σωματικὰς ἀλλοιώσεις, ἐπεὶ πρόσεστί γε ταύτῃ ἀλλοίωσις ἑτέρα νοερά. ἀθάνατον· ὅτι ζωὴ ἐστιν αὐθυπόστατος εἶδος οὐσα<sup>37</sup> τοῦ ὀργανικοῦ σώματος· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦ τοιοῦδε σώματος τὸ ἀνθρώπινον εἶδος ἀποτελεῖ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.

Αἱ δὲ δυνά(254<sup>r</sup>)μεις καίτοι μιᾶς οὔσης πλείους εἰσὶ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσαι ὥς καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν συνδιαίρεσθαι ταύταις δοκεῖν. δεῖ δέ σε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐνέργειαν ἀναφέρειν· δύναμιν γὰρ ἔχειν λέγεται τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν τότε τι

<sup>35</sup> δηλοῖ cod.

<sup>36</sup> Ἀς] ἦς cod.

<sup>37</sup> οὐσα] οὐσαν cod.

ἢ πάσχειν. διαιρουσί δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἄλλος μὲν ἄλλως πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστώσαν χρεῖαν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τό γε νῦν ἔχον οὕτω διέλωμεν τῶν ψυχικῶν δυνάμεων· αἱ μὲν σωματικῶν ὀργάνων εἰσὶν ἐντελέχειαι ἥτοι τελειότητες μὴ δυνάμεναι τὴν οἰκείαν ἐνέργειαν ἀποτελεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τοῦ σωματικοῦ καὶ οἰκείου ὀργάνου. ἔνθεν τοι καὶ βλαβέντος ἐνίοτε τοῦ ὀργάνου μένουσιν ἀνενέργητοι. αἱ δὲ χωρὶς ὀργάνου πεφύκασιν ἐνεργεῖν, αἵπερ εἰσὶ τῆς λογικῆς ζωῆς ἴδιαι. αὗται δ' εἰσὶ γνωστικὴ μὲν νοῦς, ὀρεκτικὴ δὲ θέλησις, εἴτ' οὖν βούλησις.

Αἱ δὲ δι' ὀργάνων, αἱ μὲν εἰσὶ φυτικάι, αἱ κἄν φυτοῖς παραπλησίως εὐρίσκονται. αἱ δὲ τῆς ἀλόγου ζωῆς φυτικάι μὲν οὖν εἰσὶν, ἡ τε θρεπτικὴ καὶ αὐξητικὴ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὁμοίου γεννητικῆ.<sup>38</sup> τῶν δ' ἀλόγων, (255<sup>1</sup>) αἱ μὲν γνωστικαί, αἱ δὲ ὀρεκτικαί, αἱ δὲ ὀρμητικάι. γνωστικαὶ μὲν, αἰσθησις τε<sup>39</sup> καὶ φαντασία, δόξα καὶ μνήμη. καὶ οὕτως αἰσθητικὴ, φανταστική, δοξαστική, μνημονευτική. ὀρεκτικαὶ δὲ θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ οὕτως θυμικὸν καὶ ἐπιθυμητικόν. ὀρμητικάι δὲ ἡ τε τῶν μορίων τοῦ σώματος κινητικὴ, καὶ ἡ ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον μεταβατικὴ, καὶ ἡ ἀναπνευστικὴ καὶ ἡ φωνητικὴ. τὰ μὲν οὖν φυτὰ τὰς φυτικὰς εἰρημένας ἔχει μόνας, τὰ δ' ἄλογα ζῶα καὶ τὰς φυτικὰς ἔχει τῶν φυτῶν μᾶλλον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρημένας τῆς ἀλόγου ζωῆς. δεῖ δὲ τὴν αἰσθητικὴν διαιρεῖν εἰς ὄρασιν, ἀκοήν, ὄσφρησιν, γεῦσιν καὶ ἀφήν. ἡ δὲ λογικὴ ψυχὴ καὶ τὰς φυτικὰς ἔχει καὶ τὰς ἀλόγους σφοδρότερον ἢ τὰ ἄλογα, ἔτι δὲ πλέον τὰς λογικὰς εἰρημένας.

Ἐν μὲν οὖν σώματι οὕσα ψυχὴ θνητῷ κατὰ πάσας μὲν ἐνεργεῖ τὰς δυνάμεις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μὲν τὰς λογικὰς ἀμυδρῶς, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἄλλας σφοδρότερον. ἀποφοιτήσασα δὲ τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας τὰς (255<sup>ν</sup>) δι' ὀργάνων ἐνεργούσας οὐκ ἐνεργεῖ, κατὰ δὲ τὰς λογικὰς μόνον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον τρανότερον καὶ σφοδρότερον ὥς δοκεῖν ἐνύπνιον εἶναι τὴν νῦν ἐνέργειαν πρὸς τὰ ὕπαρ φαινόμενα, φημὶ δὲ τὴν κεχωρισμένην ἐνέργειαν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ νοῦς γυμνῶς τοῖς πράγμασιν ὁμιλῶν γινώσκει ταῦτα τρανῶς ἥκιστα ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν ἀμαυρούμενος. ταύτη τοι καὶ μακρότερον ὕπνον καὶ κάλλιστον<sup>40</sup> ἐνυπνίων ὁ Πλάτων ἐκάλει τὴν τοιαύτην ζωὴν· ὀνειρώττομεν γὰρ μᾶλλον νῦν ἢ γινώσκομεν. σοφίας δὲ καὶ ἐπιστήμης ἐφιέμεθα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀδυνατοῦμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ὕλης πάθους ἐμποδιζόμενοι. ὁ μὲν νοῦς οὕτω μετὰ θάνατον· θάνατος γὰρ ἀληθὴς ἢ παρούσα ζωὴ, ζωὴ δ' ἀληθὴς ἢ μετὰ θάνατον διαγωγὴ τοῖς μὴ διὰ κακίαν εἰρχθησομένοις. ἡ δὲ γε βούλησις οὐκ ἀμβλύνεται τηνικαῦτα τῇ ἀνθολκῇ τῶν ἀλόγων ὀρέξεων, ἀλλ' ὅλη ἐστὶ συντεταμένη καὶ συνεπομένη τῷ νῷ. οὕτω μὲν οὖν καὶ χωρὶς σώματος ἐνεργεῖν ψυχὴ πέφυκε ζῶσα<sup>41</sup> ζῶν ἄϋλον καὶ ἀμέριμον, ἀνώδυνον, τρανὴν, σοφὴν, ἐλευθέραν καὶ παντὸς (256<sup>1</sup>) βάρους ἀπηλλαγμένην,<sup>42</sup> μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀνάστασιν, ὅπηνίκα τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα, ἥπερ πιστεύομεν, ἄφθαρτον ἀπολήγεται, ὅπως ἂν εἴη ἐνεργοῦσα, οἶδε μὲν ἀκριβῶς ὁ καὶ πλάσας αὐτὴν καὶ συζεύξας φθορᾷ καὶ αὐθις συνδήσων ἀθφάρτῳ πάχει. εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺ μαθεῖν ἐρᾷς, ὁ μὲν ἔρως ἐπαινετόν, εἰ δὲ μὴ κρούσης οὐκ ἀνοιγίγεται.

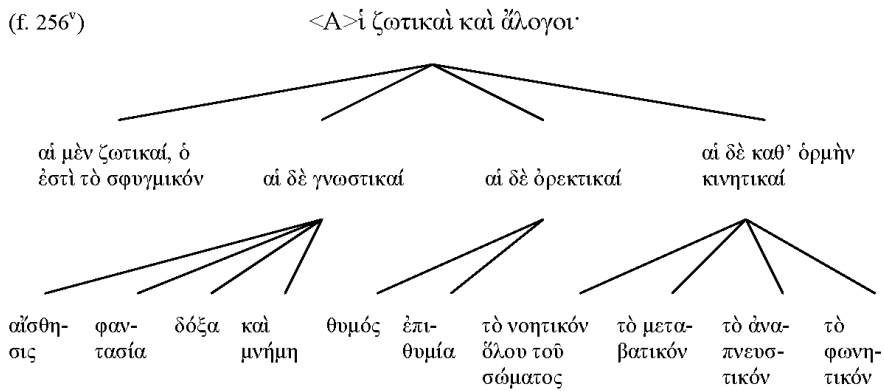
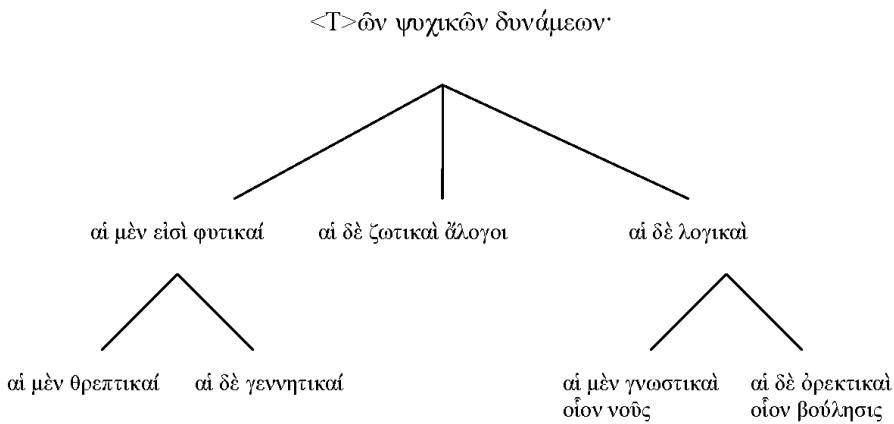
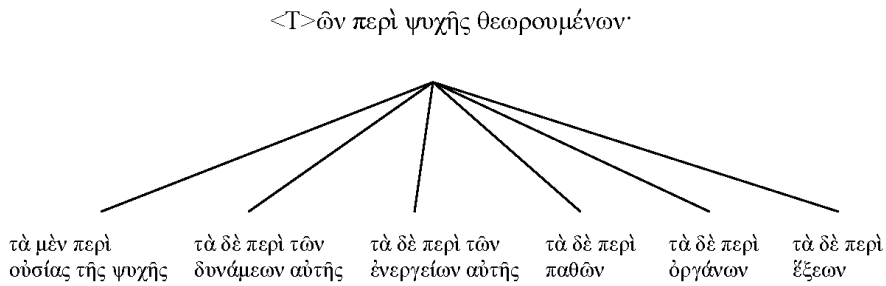
<sup>38</sup> γεννητικῇ] γεννητικὴ cod.

<sup>39</sup> τε] δὲ cod.

<sup>40</sup> κάλλιστον] κάλιστον cod.

<sup>41</sup> ζῶσα] ζῶσαν cod.

<sup>42</sup> ἀπηλλαγμένην] ἀπηλαγμένην cod.





## Text 57

**On entelechy, inc. Ἐντελέχεια** (f. 278<sup>r-v</sup>)

Ἐντελέχεια<sup>43</sup> προηγουμένως μὲν ἡ τοῦ ἐντελοῦς ἔχεια λέγεται, ἡγουν ἡ κατὰ τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔξις, ἡ τελειότης τοῦ πράγματος καθ' ἣν τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα, καθ' ἣν τέλειον ἐστὶν εἶδος τὸ πρᾶγμα· διὸ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἐντελέχεια, οὐ τὸ κατὰ μήτραν οἰκονομούμενον ἔμβρυον καὶ διοργανούμενον καὶ τελεσιουργούμενον ἔτι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ἐντελέχεια<sup>44</sup> ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἀπαρτηθεὶς καὶ ἀποτεχθεὶς ὡς κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρωπεῖον εἶδος τελειωθείς. ὅθεν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐντελέχειαν ὀρίζονται τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ ὀργανικοῦ καὶ δυνάμει ζωὴν ἔχοντος σώματος, οὐχ ὅτι<sup>45</sup> ἐνέργεια ἐστὶν (278<sup>v</sup>) ἡ ψυχὴ, ἀλλ' ὅτι κατ' ἐκείνην ἡ τελειότης αὐτῆς. καλεῖται δ' ἐντελέχεια καὶ ἡ τοῦ τελείου ἐνέργεια, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν ἡ τελεία ἐνέργεια· τῶν γὰρ τελείων καὶ αἱ ἐνέργειαι τέλειαι, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀτελῶν ἀτελεῖς. ἐντελέχεια δὲ λέγεται ἡ τελεία ἐνέργεια, ὡς τὸ ἐντελὲς ἔχουσα καὶ αὕτη καὶ ὡς ἐντελεστική τῆς ἐχέας, ἡγουν τελειωτική τῆς ἔξεως· καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ ἀπλῶς λέγεται ἐνέργεια ἡ ἐντελέχεια καθ' ὅσον ἕκαστον ἐνεργοῦν ἀποδίδωσι τὰς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν, εἴτε τελεία ἡ φύσις εἴτε ἀτελής κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ σημαινόμενον. καὶ ἡ κίνησις ἐντελέχεια λέγεται, ἡγουν ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια.

## Text 60

**Pythagorean categories, inc. Ἐπὶ συστοιχίας** (f. 279<sup>r-v</sup>)

<Ε>πὶ συστοιχίας τινὰς ἐξεῦρον οἱ πυθαγόριοι δέκα τὸν ἀριθμόν, υφ' ᾧς ἀνάγουσι πάντα τὰ ὄντα ὡς εἰς δέκα ἀρχάς· ἀγαθὸν – κακόν, πέρας – ἄπειρον, περιττὸν – ἄρτιον, <Ε>ν – <π>λῆθος, (279<sup>v</sup>) <δ>εξιὼν<sup>46</sup> – ἀριστερόν, <φ>ῶς<sup>47</sup> – σκότος, <ᾗ>ρρεν – <θ>ῆλυ, <ῆ>ρεμοῦν – <κ>ινούμενον, <ε>ὕθῃ – <κ>αμπύλον, <τ>ετράγωνον – <Ε>τερόμηκες. καὶ

<sup>43</sup> Ἐντελέχεια] Ἐντελέχεια μὲν cod.

<sup>44</sup> ἐντελέχεια] ἐντελέχει cod.

<sup>45</sup> οὐχ ὅτι] ὡς supra ὅτι cod.

<sup>46</sup> <δ>εξιὼν] Ἀεξιὼν cod.

<sup>47</sup> <φ>ῶς] ἁῶς cod.

πάλιν ἐναντιώσεις ὀκτώ, αἱ διαπάντων τῶν σωμάτων διήκουσαι λέγονται καὶ ἄρχαι καὶ κοινότητες· <θ>ερμότης – <ψ>υχρότης, <ύ>γρότης – <ξ>ηρότης, <κ>ουφότης – <β>αρύτης, <μ>αλακότης – <σ>κληρότης, <γ>λισχρότης – <κ>ραυρότης, <λ>ειότης – <τ>ραχύτης, <λ>επτότης – <π>αχύτης, <μ>ανότης – <π>υκνότης. <Γ>ένη τρία, εὐθυμετρικόν, ἐμβαδομετρικόν, στερεωμετρικόν· ὧν τὸ μὲν εἰς μήκος, τὸ δὲ εἰς πλάτος καὶ μήκος, τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις. <Ε>ἶδη πέντε· τετράγωνον, τρίγωνον, ῥόμβος, τραπέζιον, <κ>ύκλος.

## Text 61

<Τ>οῖαι γλῶσσαι καταπόλεις, αὗται καλοῦνται γλωσσήματα (ff. 279<sup>v</sup>–280<sup>v</sup>)

<Α>θηναίων·

ἄγαν· λίαν.  
ἄλις· ἀρκεῖ.  
λοπῶς· ἱμάτιον.  
θνεῖον· ἀλλότριον.  
πέδον· γῆ.

<Α>ιολέων·

αἰχμή· λόγῃ.  
γός· κλαυθμός.  
δόμα· οἶκος.  
κεκρυφάλεον· ἀριστερόν.

<Α>καρνάνων·

ἐνέπει· λέγει.  
στίχε· περεύου.  
κήρ· ψυχή.

<Α>ρκάδων·

ἄορ· ξίφος.  
θήγει· ἀκονᾶ.  
ἴς· ἰσχύς.  
λέκτρον· κλίνη.  
λυκάβας· ἐνιαυτός.  
ξυνόν· κοινόν.  
οἶος· μόνος.

<Β>οιωτῶν·

ἀγορεύει· (f. 280<sup>v</sup>) λέγει.  
ἄνεω· ἥσυχοι.  
αἶσα· μοῖρα.  
κτύπος· ψόφος.  
μήλα· πρόβατα.

Αχαιών·

ἄει(?)· φώνει.  
ἄτερ· χωρίς.  
ἄζω (= χάζω?)· λαμβάνω.

<Α>μβρακιωτῶν·

αἰθεταί· καίεται.  
βίος· τόξον.  
χαίτη· τρίχες.

Αἰτολῶν·

δέμα· σῶμα.  
οὔλα· ἔλαφος.  
ἴρι· πρωί.  
κοίρανος· ὁ ἡγεμών.  
μέθυ· οἶνος.  
πέλια· περιστερά.

Δωριαίων·

ἔσπεται· εἵπατε.  
φύς· ὄσφύς. ὄσφύς δὲ λέγεται αἱ ψυαί  
παρὰ τὸ φύειν τὰ παιδιά, ἀπὸ τῆς  
κατιούσης ἐκεῖθεν γονῆς, ὅπερ φησὶν ὁ  
Πλάτων.  
πάλος· κλῆρος.  
ἰός· βέλος.  
θής· λάτρις.  
ταρβεῖ· φοβεῖται.  
πέδιλα· ὑποδήματα.  
φάσγανον· ξίφος.  
χοῶν· γῆ.  
τρώγος· γύψ.  
τούπησεν· ἀπέθανεν. (cf. LSJ, s.v.  
δουπέω, γδουπέω)

<Ε>ρμιονέων·

ἴσθι· περεύου.  
κνίσα· ἐπίπλους.

<Θ>εσσαλῶν·

αἶψα· ταχέως.  
ἄνευθεν· χωρίς.  
βροτός· ἄνθρωπος.  
ἐκάς· πόρρω.  
καλπίζ· ὑδρία.  
κίρκος· ἰέραξ.  
κράτα· κεφαλήν.  
λάτρις· δοῦλος.

<Κ>λειτορίων·

ἀήται· ἄνεμοι.  
αὐδή· φωνή.  
δέδορκε· ὄρᾱ.  
ἔστιοι· νεκροί.  
ἐσθλόν· ἀγαθόν.  
λεύσει· ὄρᾱ.  
πάροιθεν· ἔμπροσθεν.  
χηλός (χηλος cod.)· κιβωτός.  
ῶκα· ταχέως.  
ὠλέναι· βραχίονες, οἱ ἀγκάλαις.

<Ι>ώνων·

κοῦρος· παῖς.  
νέκυς· νεκρός.

<Κ>ρητῶν·

γόνυτος· θήκη φαρέτρων. (scr.  
γόρυτος; cf. Hsch. s.v., Etym.magn.  
s.v. γωρυτός)  
ἔλπομαι· δοκέω.  
ἔντεα· ὄπλα.  
λᾶς· λίθος.  
μόχθος· πόνος.  
φώτες· ἄνδρες.

Κυπρίων·

ἀλαός· ὁ τυφλός.

(280<sup>v</sup>) <Κ>ορινθίων·

ἔτοιμον· ἀληθές.  
ἄλγος· ὀδύνη.  
ἄλοχος· γυνή.  
δέπας· ποτήριον.

ἔμαρπεν· ἔλαβεν.

ἢ βαιόν· τὸ μικρόν.  
ἔξε· κάθισον.

<Κ>ερκύρων·

κώπη· λαβὴ ξίφους. (λαβὴ scripsi: λαλή  
cod.)  
φαλανθός· φαλακρός.  
φηγός· δρυς.  
ἄγλαός· καλός.

<Σ>ικελῶν·

κόρσας· κεφαλάς.  
μέλαθρον· οἰκία.  
ναίει· οἰκεῖ.  
φόρμιγξ (μόρμιγξ cod.)· κιθάρα.

Φλιασίων·

ἄμφω· ἀμφοτέροι.  
ἀντικρυ· ἐναντίον  
θεράπες· οἱ δοῦλοι.  
μειῶν· ἔλασσίνων.  
σάκος· ἀσπίς.  
σκήπτρον· βακτηρία.  
φᾶρος· ἱμάτιον.

<Λ>έξεις Ῥωμαικαί·

πούβλικος· ὁ δημόσιος.  
φαλκίδιος· ἡ τετάρτη μοῖρα.  
ῥεπούδιον· διαζύγιον.  
κωδῖκελος· ἐστὶν ἐλλιποῖς διαθήκης  
ἀναπλήρωσις.  
τριβούνος· ὁ τὰς διοικήσεις τῶν  
οἰκημάτων ποιῶν.  
σχολάριος· ὁ πρωτοσπαθᾶριος.  
πούβλικον· τὸ δημόσιον ἔγκλημα.  
ἐμαγκιπάτος· ὁ αὐτεξούσιος.  
μεταλίζεται· περιορίζεται.  
ἡμιόλια· τὰ ἥμισυ.  
τῶν τόκων νατάλιον· ἡγουν σιτηρέσιον  
βασιλικόν.  
φαιῶσα· τὰς γραφομένας φλυαρίας καὶ  
ρίπτουμένας.  
κατάτινων(?)· εἰς τοὺς κληρικούς.  
ἰλλούστριος· ἐπιφανής.  
κομμωνιτάριον· τὸ πρακτικόν, τὸ παρὰ  
τῆς συνόδου ἐκτεθέν.  
σπορτατεύεται· ἡγουν ἐξορίζεται.

### Text 65b

**A short chronicle:** in the margin of f. 283<sup>v</sup> three more sultans have been added to the list of Text 65a. The text was partly trimmed away.

ὁ ἔννατος ὁ σουλ |  
τα Παγιάζητη |  
ὃς ἐπῆρε τη Μεθωκορωνι. |  
δέκατος υἱός του |  
ὁ Σελημης ὃς ἐδουλεσε |  
Περσια και Σι |  
ρια ὀλη. |  
δέκατος πρῶτος |  
υἱός του ὁ Σουλεημαν |  
σούλτανος ὃς ἐπηρεαι |  
τὴν Ροδο καὶ ἐαλοσι |  
καὶ τὴν Οὐγκρία το |  
α φ κ Ϟ ετος ἀπο χϞ |  
ἀγουστου κθ |  
... ὁ πολεμος

### Text 66

**A geomantic treatise, inc.** Τοῦ ῥαμπλίου ἡ μέθοδος (ff. 283<sup>v</sup>–285<sup>v</sup>)  
For this text, see Chapter 5.

### Text 81

**A formulary, inc.** τῷ πάπα | Ραπαε | τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ καὶ μακαριωτάτῳ, etc. (ff. 320<sup>r</sup>–323<sup>r</sup>)  
For this text, see Chapter 5.



# Appendix 2: Codicological table

*Codex Upsaliensis Graecus 8*, (olim Sparwenfeldt 49, olim Escorialensis A. VI. 16)

A composite with miscellaneous contents.

Paper, ff. iii + 342 + iii', 135 x 90 mm, Crete? ca. 1480.

Cod unit	Texts	Folios	Quires	Water-marks	Boundary Criteria	Textual types
U1	<b>1. Pinax 1</b> (Τόδε ἐνεστυ ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ.) Added in El Escorial, circa 1576.	I-IIr	Q1: binion where the first leaf has been cut out	no wm	A B C J K L M O	
	<b>2. Pinax 2</b> (prior El Escorial pinax, discarded)	IIv-IIIr				
U2	<b>3. <i>Stephanites and Ichnelates</i></b> Inc. <Ἀ>νακεφαλαίωσις τῆς παρούσης πραγματείας. Expl. ἐλεημοσύνην τε καὶ ἐδεργείαν, ἀμήν. The most recent edition of this work is SiÖBERG 1962 (on Symeon Seth's version, recension A). The text in <i>Gr</i> 8 belongs to recension B, for which we still rely on Puntomi's edition, PUNTONI 1889. <i>Gr</i> 8 was used for Aurivillius' edition of the prolegomena, <i>Prolegomena ad librum</i> 1780.	Ir-86v	Q2: [1-6] ternion Q3: [7-12, 12a-12b] 1 ternion + 2 leaves glued together and attached to the ternion Q4-11: [13-75] 8 quaternions (number 34 used for two ff.: 34+34a) Q12: [76-83] quaternion; the coarser paper quality matches the following binion Q13: [84-87] binion	Oxhead Oxhead  Oxhead (8 quat.)  no wm  Balance	A B C E F G J L M	Narr
	<b>4. Later notes</b> A petition draft concerning a land dispute, dated Sept. 10, 1546. Notes on a bishop's benediction of land, dated Dec. 9, 1546. A doxology, followed by pen trials at the bottom of the page.	87r-v				
U3	<b>5. <i>Isocrates, Oration 1</i></b> (Λόγος Ἰσοκράτους πρὸς Δημόνικον) Ed. MANDILARAS 2003.	88-98r	Q14: [88-95] quaternion Q15: [96-103] quaternion	Scissors Scissors		Prac
	<b>6. Anonymous, <i>On the soul and its faculties</i></b> (Αἱ πέντε δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς). Inc. Νοθεῖ, διάνοια, δόξα. Expl. ἀκοή, γέυσις καὶ ἀφή. See Appendix 1.	98r				Prac

U4	7. <Gregory of Nazianzos, <i>Ep. 114</i> > (Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς τὶνα Γρηγόριον καὶ οὐ τὸν μέγαν) Inc. Ἐπειδὴ μοι τὴν σιωπὴν ἐγκαλεῖς. Expl. ὅταν κοιτοῖσι σιωπήσωσιν. Ed. GALLAY 1967. <i>PG</i> 37, 209–212.	98v–99r			Narr/ (Rhet)
	8. <Ps.-Hippocrates, <i>Epp. 8, 1</i> > a. Ἐπιστολὴ βασιλέως Ἀρταξέρξου πρὸς Κρόουζ. b. Ἀπολογία Κρόων πρὸς βασιλέα. c. Ἀρταξέρξου πρὸς Πέτω. Ed. SAKALIS 1989; SMITH 1990.	99r–100r			Rhet
	9. <i>Anacharsis, Epp. 1–8</i> (Ἐπιστολαὶ Ἀναχάρσιδος Σκύθου) Inc. <i>Ep. 1</i> : Γέλῃτε ἐμὴν φωνήν. Expl. <i>Ep. 8</i> : ἐλπῖσαι καλὰ ἐν ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ. Ed. REUTERS 1957.	100r–103r			Rhet
	10a. <i>Five sayings from the Alexander Romance</i> <i>Historia Alexandri Magni, Recensio λ (lib. 3)</i> : p. 41, 11–15 (cf. <i>Gnom. Vat.</i> 95); p. 40, 9–11; p. 40, 12–19; p. 41, 8–11; p. 40, 20–22. Ed. VAN THIEL 1959.	103r–v			(Narr)/ Prac
	10b. <i>Two sayings</i> Πρέπων γυναικὶ κόσμος οὐ τὸ κάλλος, ἀλλ’ ἡ σωφροσύνη (Lib. <i>Decl.</i> 6, 2, 35); Ὡσπερ ἐνώστιον χρυσὸν ἐν ῥινὶ ὕδρι, οὕτω κακόφρονι γυναικὶ κάλλος ( <i>Prov.</i> 11:22).	103v (last three lines)			Prac
	11a–b. <i>Paul of Aegina, Medical Compendium</i> (Παύλου Αἰγίντου τοῦ περιοδεύτου περὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς τροφαῖς δυνάμεων) a. Book 1, chs. 73–99. b. Book 1, ch. 100 (= Diocles of Karystos, <i>Prophylactic letter</i> ). Ed. HEIBERG 1921 (CMG 9:1).	104–122v	Q16: [104–111] quaternion Q17: [112–119] quaternion Q18: [120–127] quaternion	Scissors Scissors Scissors	Prac
	12. <i>A botanical lexicon</i> (Λεξικὸν τῆς τῶν βοτανῶν ἐρμηνείας κατὰ στοιχεῖον) Inc. ἀκτέα· ἡ κουφοξύλεα. Expl. ὥκυμον· τὸ βασιλικόν. See Appendix 1.	122v–127r			Prac
	13. <Aetius of Amida, <i>Sixteen Books on Medicine</i> XV, 15, 693–704> (a formula) Inc. Τὸ Διοκράτου σφόδρα ἀγαθὴ διαφοροῦσα χοιράδας. Expl. οὐ ποιοῖν ψυδράκια. Ed. ZERVOS 1909.	127r–v			Prac
	14. <i>Anonymous, On contraceptives</i> Inc. Κυκλάμνον βασταζόμενον. Expl. ἀτοκίαν καὶ αὐτὸ ποιεῖ. See Appendix 1.	127v			Prac
	15. <i>Hippocrates, &lt;On the Number Seven, 5&gt;</i> (cf. Philo, <i>Op.</i> 105). Inc. Ἰστέον ὡς Ἰπποκράτης ἐπὶ τῇ ηλικίας. Expl. τὸ	127v			Prac

A B F G O

	ἐντεῦθεν βουγέρον. Ed. ROSCHER 1913.						
U5	<p><b>16. Gregory Thaumaturgos, <i>Treatise on the Soul</i></b> (Τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θαυματουργοῦ περὶ ψυχῆς) Inc. Λόγος περὶ ψυχῆς ἀκολουθία τινὶ καὶ τάξει. Expl. ἐδέχθη ἅρα λογικὴ ἡ ψυχὴ. CPG 1773; PG 10, 1137–1145.</p> <p><b>17. &lt;John Philoponos, <i>Commentary in Aristotle's De Anima</i>&gt;</b> excerpts Ed. HAYDUCK 1897. <i>References within brackets are to the corresponding pages and lines in Hayduck's edition:</i> a. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> ll. 6–14) Tit.: εἰ σώμᾳ ἔστιν ἡ ἀσώματος, inc. ἔτι ἡ ψυχὴ ἀσώματος· πᾶν σώμα κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν. Expl. ἡ ψυχὴ ἀσώματος ἄρα [12, 25–32]. b. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> l. 14–132<sup>v</sup> l. 2) Inc. οὐδέν σώμα ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ. Expl. τῶν ἐναντίων ἀντιλαμβάνεται [13, 1–5]. c. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> ll. 3–8) Inc. πῶς δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ. Expl. τοῦ δὲ σὺ αἰσθῆσαι [13, 7–12]. d. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> ll. 8–10) Inc. οὐ δυνήσεται γὰρ διακρίναι. Expl. τοῦ ὑπ' ἄλλου ὁραθέντος [13, 19–20]. e. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> ll. 10–14) Inc. εἰ οὖν σώμᾳ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ. Expl. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὖν ἀσώματος [13, 14–17]. f. (f. 132<sup>v</sup> ll. 14–133<sup>v</sup> l. 6) Inc. εἰ τοίνυν αἱ καταδέεσται. Expl. ἡ μέντοι ψυχὴ ἡ λογικὴ αὐτῇ ἑαυτὴν [14, 28–29 and 31–36]. g. (f. 133<sup>v</sup> l. 6–133<sup>v</sup> l. 12) Inc. δεῖ ἐκ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν. Expl. προέργεσθαι καὶ αὐτῆς χωριστῆς [15, 15–34]. h. (f. 133<sup>v</sup> ll. 12–17) Inc. ὅταν οὖν σκοπεῖ περὶ νοητῶν. Expl. οὐσία χωριστικὴ σώματος αἰδιός ἐστι [16, 5–12]. i. (ff. 133<sup>v</sup> l. 17–134<sup>v</sup> l. 9) Inc. εἰ δὲ αἰδιός καὶ ἀθάνατος, ὅτι πᾶν φεیرهμενον. Expl. κατ' οὐδένα ἄρα τρόπον φεῖρεται [46, 28–34].</p> <p><b>18. Anonymous, <i>On the three states in life</i></b> (Περὶ τὰς τρεῖς ἀποκαταστάσεις τοῦ βίου) Inc. Τρεῖς ἀποκαταστάσεις τοῦ βίου οἶδεν. Expl. δυνατὸς τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ. See Appendix 1.</p>	128r–132r  132r–134r	Q19: [128–135] quaternion	Scissors	A B F G O	PhTh  PhTh	
	<p><b>19. Anonymous, <i>On the three stages of spiritual life</i></b></p>	134r–137r  137r–138v	Q20: [136–143] quaternion	Scissors		PhTh  PhTh	

U6	Inc. Τρεῖς εἰσι τάξεις. Expl. τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς θεολογίας. See Appendix 1.	138v–147r	Q21: [144–151] quaternion	Scissors	(Narr)/ Rhet
	20. Manuel Christonymos, <i>Monody on the Capture of Constantinople</i> (Τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ λόγιου καὶ διδασκάλου κύρ Μανουήλ τοῦ Χρηστονύμου μονωδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπροδοκίτῳ ἀλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινίου πόλεως). Ed. LAMPROS 1908.	147r–151v			PhTh
	21. Leonardo Bruni, <i>The Constitution of Florence</i> (Λεονάρδου Ἀρετίνου πολιτεία Φλωρεντίνων) Inc. Ἐπειδὴ ἐπιθυμῆς εἰδέναι. Expl. ἡ πολιτεία κατέστην. Ed. MOULAKIS 1986.	151v			Prac
	22. The Seven Wonders <A>1 πληροφορία τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, <B>αβυλῶνια τείχη, Ἑκατοντάπυλα Θυβαί, <M>αυσώλου Καρικόδ τάφος, Κολασὸς Ῥόδου, <N>αὐτὸς Κηζίκου, Θέατρον Ἡρακλέως. Cf. BRODERSEN 1992, 142, no. 28.				
	23. George Gemistos Plethon, <i>On Virtues</i> (Τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ καὶ λογιωτάτου κυροῦ Γεωργίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ λόγος περὶ ἀρετῶν, ὅρος ἀρετῆς) Inc. Ἀρετὴ ἐστὶν ἕξις. Expl. ζ' χρηρηστότης, ζ' παρρότης, α' κοσμιότης. Ed. TAMBRUN-KRASKER, 1987; <i>PG</i> 160, 865–882.	152r–162v	Q22: [152–159] quaternion Q23: [160–167] quaternion	Scissors Scissors	PhTh
	24. George Gemistos Plethon, <i>Reply to George Scholarios' defense of Aristotle</i> (Γεωργίου τοῦ Γεμιστοῦ πρὸς Γεώργιον τὸν Σχολάριον) Inc. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ὄνέ. Expl. ἄλλως ἔσται πνευδόμενος, i.e., only the introductory part of the treatise is included. Ed. MALTESE 1988; <i>PG</i> 160, 979–1020.	162v–163r			Rhet
	25a–c. Bessarion, <i>Epp.</i> 22, 49, 50 a. <i>Ep.</i> 22: Βησαρίων καρδινάλειος υἱὸ Γεμιστοῦ. b. (f. 163 <sup>v</sup> ) <i>Ep.</i> 49: Βησαρίων καρδινάλειος Μηγαίλω τῷ Ἀποστόλῃ. c. (f. 167 <sup>r</sup> ) <i>Ep.</i> 50: Βησαρίων καρδινάλειος Ανδρονίκω τῷ Καλλίεστον. Ed. MOHLER 1942, 468f. and 511–513; <i>PG</i> 161, 695–698, 687–692, and 691–694.	163r–167v			Rhet
	26. Nicholas Sagundino, <i>Letter to Andronikos Kallistos</i>	167v–173r	Q24: [168–175] quaternion	Scissors	Rhet

(Ἐπιστολὴ Νικολάου τοῦ Σεκουνδίνου πρὸς Ἀνδρόνικον τὸν Κάλλιστον). <i>PG</i> 161, 691–696.	173r–186v	Q25: [176–183] quaternion Q26: [184–191] quaternion	Scissors– Scissors	Rhet (PhTh)/ Rhet
27. <b>Libanios, <i>Declamation 26</i></b> (Λειβανίου πρὸς ἑλάνων γυναικὰ) Ed. FOERSTER 1911, VI, 494–544.	186v–189v			
28. <b>John Chrysostom</b> [dub.], <i>Speech against Herodias</i> (Λόγος τοῦ μεγάλου Χρυσοστόμου κατὰ Ἡρωδιάδα καὶ περὶ γυναικῶν πονηρῶν) Inc. Οὐδὲν τοῖνυν θηρίον. Expl. Γυνὴ πονηρὰ ἀνδρὶ ἀμαρτωλῷ δωθήσεται. The text does not include the full introduction and breaks off early; cf. <i>PG</i> 59, 486–488a). <i>CPG</i> 4001 and 4570.	189v–190v			(PhTh)/ spec
29. <b>John Chrysostom</b> [dub.], <i>Sermon without a title</i> (τοῦ αὐτοῦ) Inc. Διὰ τὴν ἀκрасiάν. Expl. οὐχ ἥμαρτον οἱ γονοῖς αὐτοῦ. <i>CPG</i> 4878; see the edition, p. 186.	190v–192v	Q27: [192–199] quaternion	Scissors	PhTh
30. <b>Marc Eugenikos, <i>Thoughts</i></b> (Γνώμαι τοῦ ἁγίου Μάρκου τοῦ Ἐφεσίου περὶ ὅρου ζωῆς καὶ περὶ τῆς αἰώνιου κολάσεως) Inc. Περὶ μὲν τοῦ προορτισμοῦ. Expl. οὕτως ὁ τοῦ δικαίου σώζεται λόγος. See Appendix I.	192v–193r			PhTh
31. <b>Marc Eugenikos, <i>Analogies</i></b> (τοῦ αὐτοῦ· Ἀναλογίαι τῶν ἀπειλουμένων κολάσεων πρὸς τὰ ἀμαρτήματα) Inc. Σκότος ἐστὶ βαθὺ. Expl. ὥσπερ ἡ νόσος τοῦ σώματος. See Appendix I.	193r–v			PhTh
32. <b>Anonymous, <i>A problem</i></b> Inc. Ἀπορία πῶς ἀνέχεται ὁ θεός. Expl. ἐκουσίως ἐαυτὴν χορῷσαν. See Appendix I.	193v–194v			PhTh
33. <b>Anonymous, <i>Hymn to the Theotokos</i></b> (Εὐχὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπεργίαν δέσποιναν ἡμῶν θεοτόκον) Inc. Παντάσασα, πανόμνητε. Expl. εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας. See Appendix I.	194v–195r			PhTh
34. <b>John of Damascus, <i>On virtues and vices</i></b> , excerpt (Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Διαμασκηνοῦ περὶ τῶν ἡ λογισμῶν δι’ ὧν πᾶσα ἀμαρτία τελεῖται) Inc. Ὅκτώ εἰσι πάντες οἱ περιεκτικοί. Expl. πάλῃ ἡ ἀντίστασις τοῦ λογισμοῦ. <i>PG</i> 95, 92D–93B. <i>CPG</i> 8111.	195v–196r			Prac
35. <b>Sayings by Maximus, Demosthenes, et al.</b>				

	Inc. Τοῦ ἀγίου Μαζίου περὶ τῶν τριῶν μερῶν τῆς ψυχῆς. Expl. ὑποτάσσεται εἰς ἃ δεῖ. See Appendix 1. <b>36a–b. Isidore of Pelousin, <i>Epp.</i> I, 390 and I, 167.</b> (a. Ἰσιδώρου τοῦ Πελοουσιώτου ἐπιστολή. b. τοῦ αὐτοῦ) a. Inc. Ἀκοῖα με σκληραῖ. b. Inc. Τὸν μάχαις χαίροντα. <i>PG</i> 78, 401 and 292f.	196r–v				Rhet
	<b>37. Three short sayings.</b> Τύχης γὰρ μὴ παρούσης δυστυχοῦσιν αἱ φρέναί. Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ. Ὅρος φιλοσοφίας μελέτη θανάτου.	196v				Prac
	<b>38. A gnomology derived from Constantine Manasses’ <i>Synopsis Chronicle</i>.</b> Inc. Οὐτως οὐδὲν τῆς ἀπαθοῦς. Expl. ἰσχὺν σου διαφεύγει. See Appendix 1. Cf. LAMPSIDES 1996.	197r–199v				Prac
	<b>39. An owner’s note?</b> A name: δῖμος περὶ ὧλης φρουσώληρης and the phrase ἀρχὴ πιστεὸς μου ἢ ευκ... στανὸρος can be seen. Cf. No. 87, below.	199v			A B F G J L (M)	
U7	<b>40. George Gemistos Plethon, <i>Reply to the Treatise in Support of the Latin Doctrine</i></b> Inc. Τὸ ὑπὲρ Λατίνων βιβλίον. Expl. τὰ κράτιστα ἡμῶν βουλευσασμένους ἐλέσθαι. <i>PG</i> 160, 975–980.	200r–206v	Q28: [200–207] quaternion	Anchor		PhTh
	<b>41. Mark Eugenikos, On the <i>filioque</i> doctrine</b> (no author or title given by main scribe; Μάρκος ὁ φεστικός ἀποφασὶ τοῦ πατριάρχου added by a later hand) Inc. Ἐκπορεύεται μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ. Expl. τὸ μὲν γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ ἐκπορευτῶς. See Appendix 1.	206v–207v				PhTh
U8	<b>42. &lt;John Tzetzes, <i>Book of Histories</i>&gt; excerpts</b> a. (f. 208 <sup>r</sup> II. 1–17) <i>Chil.</i> I, hist. 3, 140–159. b. (f. 208 <sup>r</sup> I, 18–208 <sup>r</sup> I. 9) <i>Chil.</i> X, hist. 316, 167–177 c. (ff. 208 <sup>v</sup> I. 10–209 <sup>r</sup> I. 13) <i>Chil.</i> X, hist. 361, 962–987 d. (f. 209 <sup>r</sup> I, 13–209 <sup>r</sup> I. 5) <i>Chil.</i> XI, hist. 368, 90–101 e. (ff. 209 <sup>v</sup> I. 6–210 <sup>r</sup> I. 2) <i>Chil.</i> II, hist. 34, 65 and 68–105	208r–223v	Q29: [208–215] quaternion Q30: [216–223] quaternion	Oxhead Oxhead	A B F J O	Narr/ Rhet

	f. (ff. 210 <sup>r</sup> l. 3–212 <sup>v</sup> l. 8) <i>Chil.</i> I, hist. 27, 703–808 g. (ff. 212 <sup>v</sup> l. 9–216 <sup>v</sup> ) <i>Chil.</i> I, hist. 32, 851–II, 18 h. (f. 217 <sup>r</sup> ll. 1–5) <i>Chil.</i> I, hist. 28, 809–814 i. (ff. 217 <sup>r</sup> l. 6–223 <sup>v</sup> ) <i>Chil.</i> IV, 471–779 (letter to John Lachanas). Ed. LEONE 1968.				A B C E J L N	
U9	43. <Theophylact Simokates, <i>Epp.</i> 1, 3–4, 9–10, 13–19, 26, 29, 34, 37, 46, 60–61, 66> Ed. ZANETTO 1985. 44. The Decalogue Cf. LXX, <i>Deut.</i> 6:5; <i>Exod.</i> 20. 45. Lists of kings (Jewish patriarchs and kings; Chaldean, Persian, and Assyrian kings; Egyptian kings; Roman emperors) Inc. Πρώτος Ἀβραάμ. Expl. Κόνστας ὁ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου πατήρ. Ἐντεῦθεν οἱ τῶν Χριστιανῶν βασιλεῖς. 46. Anonymous, < <i>Carmen Paraeneticum</i> , stanzas 1–20, 6> Inc. Ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ Σολομὼν εἰρήκεν πάντα λόγων. Expl. ὅταν ποικίλους περσασμοῖς ἐπέσειε παρ’ ἐλπίδα. Ed. LUNDSTROM 1902. 47. A short epigram Δόξαν προσλαβὼν τίμα τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα   φόβον ἐμποιῶν μέχρι καὶ λόγου μόνον   αὕτη γὰρ παρέργεται ταχὺ πηδῶσα,   μόνη δὲ ἡ μνήμη σου συμπαραμένει.	224r–231v  232r  232r–233v  234r–237v  237v	Q31: [224–229] termion; same kind of paper as in Q28? Q32: [230–237] quaternion	no wm  Oxhead	Rhet  PhTh  Prac  Rhet  Rhet/ Prac	
U10	48. A florilegium Inc. Ἀλέξανδρος ἐρωτηθεὶς, πῶς τοσοῦτον ἔθνων. Expl. τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις οἱ νόμοι. See Appendix 1. 49. A short chronicle Inc. Τῶν Τρωικῶν ὕστερον. Expl. μέχρι τῆς Ξέρξου διαβάσεως. See Appendix 1. 50. A lexicon of synonyms Inc. Ἀλαλάσατε: ὑψώσατε: τὴν φωνήν. Expl. ὥρα ἡ εὐμορφία. 51. Michael Choniates, <i>Elegy on Athens</i> (Στίχοι τοῦ σοφοτάτου μητροπολίτου Ἀθηνῶν κτῆρ Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Χωνιάτου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀρχεπαύῳ ἀνιστορήσει πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν)	238r–247r  247r  247v–253r  253r–v	Q33: [238–245] quaternion Q34: [246–253] quaternion	Oxhead Oxhead	Prac  Narr/ Prac  Prac  Rhet	



	Ed. MERCATI 1935; LAMPROS 1879–80, II, 397f. <b>52. Anonymous</b> , < <i>Carmen Paraeneticum</i> , stanza 17> Inc. οἰδᾶσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι. Expl. τοῦ λόγου κινήθέντος. Cf. Text 46, above.	253v			Rhet
U11	<b>53. Anonymous, Views on the soul</b> Inc. Ἄς μὲν ἔχομεν δόξας περὶ ψυχῆς. Expl. εἰ δὲ μὴ κρούσης οὐκ ἀνοικήσεται. See Appendix 1. <b>54. Two short sayings</b> Μνήμη θανάτου χρησιμεύει τῷ βίῳ. ῥόρος φιλοσοφίας· ἡ τοῦ θανάτου μελέτη. Cf. Text 37, above. <b>55. Anonymous, A prose paraphrase of Gregory of Nazianzos' poem <i>On Virtue</i> (<i>Carm. mor.</i> I, 2, 9)</b> Inc. Πόθος μὲν αἰοὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς. Expl. ἡμέρας ἐκείνης φορὶ διαλυθήσεται. Ed. SEARBY 2003a.	254r–256v  256v  257r–261v	Q35: [254–261] quaternion	A B E	PhTh  Prac  (PhTh)/ Rhet
U12	<b>56. &lt;Theodoret of Kyrros, <i>Cure of the Pagan Maladies</i>&gt;</b> Four longer excerpts: Thdt, <i>Affect</i> 4.5–16; 4.32–42; 5.8–52; and 6.11–26. Ed. CANIVET 1958. <b>57. Anonymous, On entelechy</b> Inc. Ἐντελέχεια μὲν προηγουμένως. Expl. ἤρουν ἀπλῶς ἐνέργεια. See Appendix 1. <b>58a–b. Two epigrams, <i>AP IX 359–360</i></b> a. <Posidippus>, <i>AP IX 359</i> . Inc. <ε>ἰν ἀγορὰ μὲν νείκεα. b. <Metrodorus> (τοῦ αὐτοῦ), <i>AP IX 360</i> . Inc. Παντοίην βίῳ τοιοῦτά μιν βίης. Ed. BECKBY 1968. <b>59. Sayings of the Seven Sages</b> (heading in a later hand: ἡ λογὴ τῶν σοφῶν ἀντρῶν) Inc. <B>ῖας ὁ Πιρηνεύς· οἱ πλείονες κακοί. Expl. <δ>ρᾶν τέρμα βιωτῶν. Cf. TZIATZI-PAPAGIANNI 1994, 444. <b>60. Anonymous, Pythagorean categories</b>	262–278r  278r–v  278v–279r  279r  279r–v	Q36: [262–269] quaternion Q37: [270–277] quaternion Q38: [278–285] quaternion	A E	PhTh  PhTh  Rhet  Prac  PhTh

[illegible]

	<p>λαὶ ἀμοιβαῖα τοῦ Λιβανίου πρὸς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον)  <i>Epp. Lib.-Bas.</i> 7; 1; 15-22; 2-6; 8-9; 13-14; 10-12 (numbering according to Foerster's edition).  CPG 2900. Ed. FOERSTER 1922, 11, 572-597.</p> <p>69. <b>Gregory of Nazianzos Ep. 236</b> (Λιβανίου Γρηγόριος)  Inc. Πατὴρ πατρὶ πέποιμα παῖδας.  CPG 3032. Ed. GALLAY 1967.</p> <p>70. <b>Basil the Great, Epp. 330, 332, 186 and 187</b>  CPG 2900. Ed. COURTONNE 1961-66.</p> <p>71a-b. <b>Josephus, The Jewish War</b>, excerpts  a. Δημηγορία Τίτου υἱοῦ Οὐεσσασιανοῦ (<i>BJ</i> 3, 472-484). Inc. ἐν ἐπηκόῳ στός ἔλεξεν. Expl. πλεόν τι κατορθώσομεν.  b. Δημηγορία Ἰωσήπου (<i>BJ</i> 3, 361-382). Inc. &lt;Δ&gt;εἰσας δὲ τὴν ἔφοδον. Expl. μείζων ἀποφέρων παραμυθίαν.  Ed. PELLETIER 1980.</p> <p>72. <b>Nikephoros Gregoras, A letter to Metochites</b> (Ἐπιστολὴ Γρηγορᾶ πρὸς τὸν σοφώτατον λογοθέτην παρακλιτική περὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας) Cf. Nik. Greg., <i>Hist.</i> I. 322, 19 - 327, 5.  Inc. &lt;ε&gt;ὶ μὲν ἐπίσης ἄπαντα. Expl. ἤκουσιν ἡμῶν αἱ παρακλήσεις. Ed. BEKKER &amp; SCHOPEN 1855.</p>	297r  297r-v 297v-299v  299v-301v				Rhet  Rhet Narr/ (Rhet)  Rhet
U14	<p>73. &lt;Leo VI, <i>Canticum compunctionis</i>&gt;  Inc. Ἄρα τίς γῆθεν ἀείρας. Expl. ὡς ἔχρον ἀπαλεῖ με.  Ed. CICCOLELLA 1989; MATRANGA 1850, II, 683-688.</p> <p>74. &lt;Constantine Sikeliotēs, An anacreontic poem&gt;  Inc. Ἀπὸ μουσικῶν μελάνθρων. Expl. ὡς Δημόφορον νόστον ἀνύξω.  Ed. MONACO 1951; MATRANGA 1850, II, 689-692.</p> <p>75. <b>Pen trials and an owner's note</b>.  Cf. p. 101, above.</p>	302r-303v  303v-305r  305v-307v	Q41: [302-307] quaternion minus 6 <sup>th</sup> and 7 <sup>th</sup> leaf	Oxhead	A B D E J L	(PhTh)/ Rhet  (Narr)/ Rhet
U15	<p>76. <b>Three Psalms</b>, in Latin and supralinear Greek  a. <i>Ps.</i> 32 (=LXX, <i>Ps.</i> 31) <i>Beati quorum remissae sunt /</i> Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφέθησαν αἱ ἀνομιαί.  b. <i>Ps.</i> 38 (=LXX, <i>Ps.</i> 37) <i>Domine ne in furore tuo /</i> Κύριε, μὴ</p>	308r-314v	Q42: [308-315] quaternion	Oxhead	A B F G K L M O	PhTh



A B C F G J  
L M O

U17	<p><b>88a-b. Life of Aesop and Aesopian Fables</b></p> <p>a. “<i>Vita III</i>” (Ed. EBERHARD 1872, 309f.; Cf. PERRY 1952, 212f., “Testimonium Ia”).</p> <p>b. 59 fables (numbered according to HAUSRATH &amp; HUNGER):</p> <p><i>Fab.</i> 1 (first half), inc. Ἀετός καὶ ἀλώπηξ, expl. θυνόντων δὲ τινῶν.</p> <p><i>Vita W.</i> 93–100, inc. ὅμιος συνεῖδον, expl. ἀναγινωσκομένων κατελείπετο.</p> <p><i>Fab.</i> 1 (second half), inc. αἰετὸς καταπτάς, expl. τιμωρίαν οὐ διαφεύξονται.</p> <p><i>Fab.</i> (HAUSRATH &amp; HUNGER) 2–4; 9–10; 16–20; 22–23; 27; 284; 283; (PERRY) 275; (HAUSRATH &amp; HUNGER) 42; 29; 24; 11; 21; 28; 12–13; 44; 43; 45; 47; 49–50; 60; 57; 52–53; 58; 64; 66–67; 69; 239; 270; 184; 81; 76; 208; 100; 103; 289; 285; 115; A1; 116–117; 120; 126; 288; 146–147. The last fable (inc. λέων γηράσας) is truncated, expl. γάριν συλλαμβάνων etc.].</p> <p>Ed. HAUSRATH &amp; HUNGER 1956 and 1970; PERRY 1952.</p>	332r–336v	Q45; [332–336] termion where the last leaf has been cut out	traces of wm on 332 and 334	Narr/ (Prac)
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